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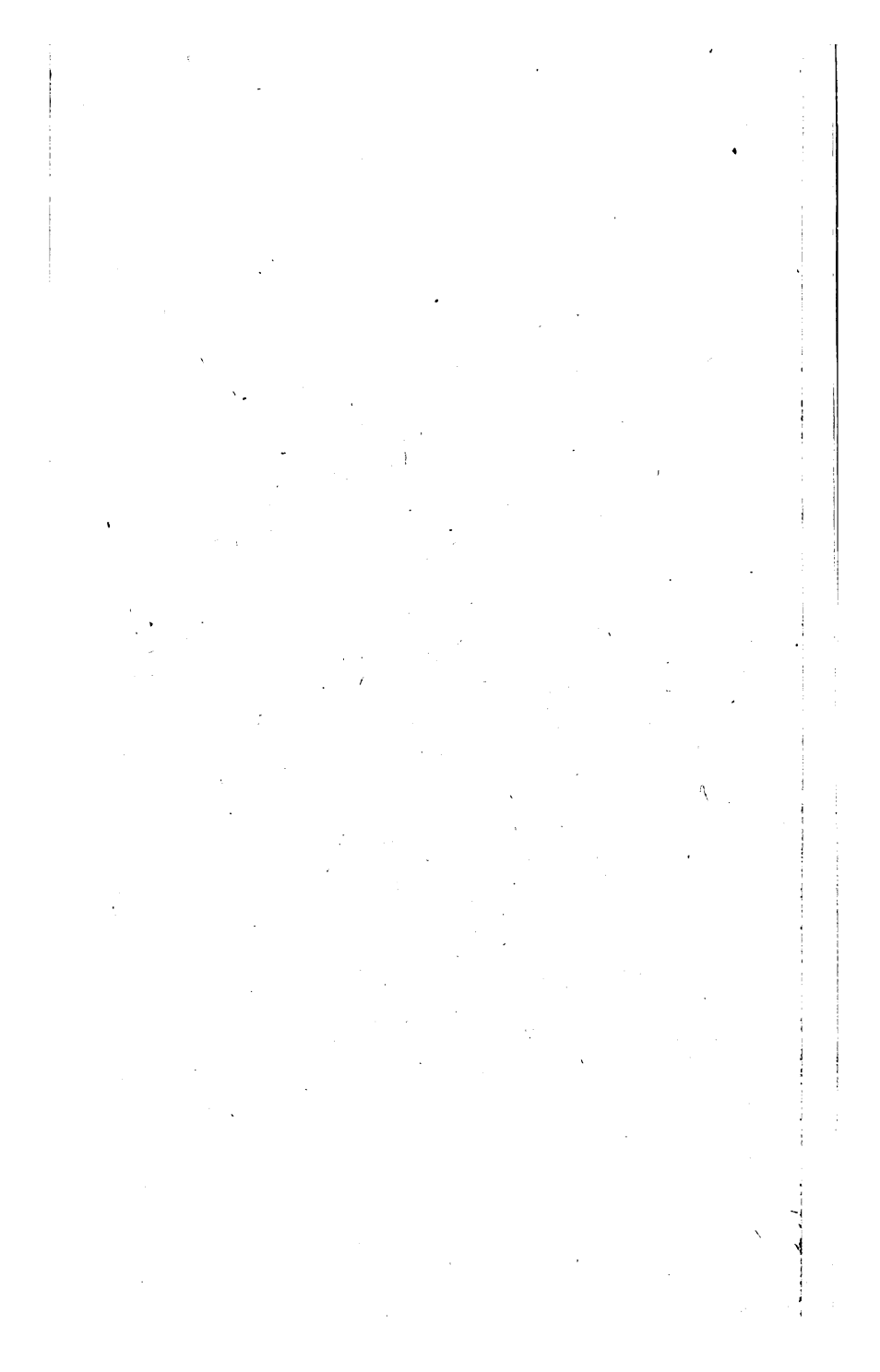


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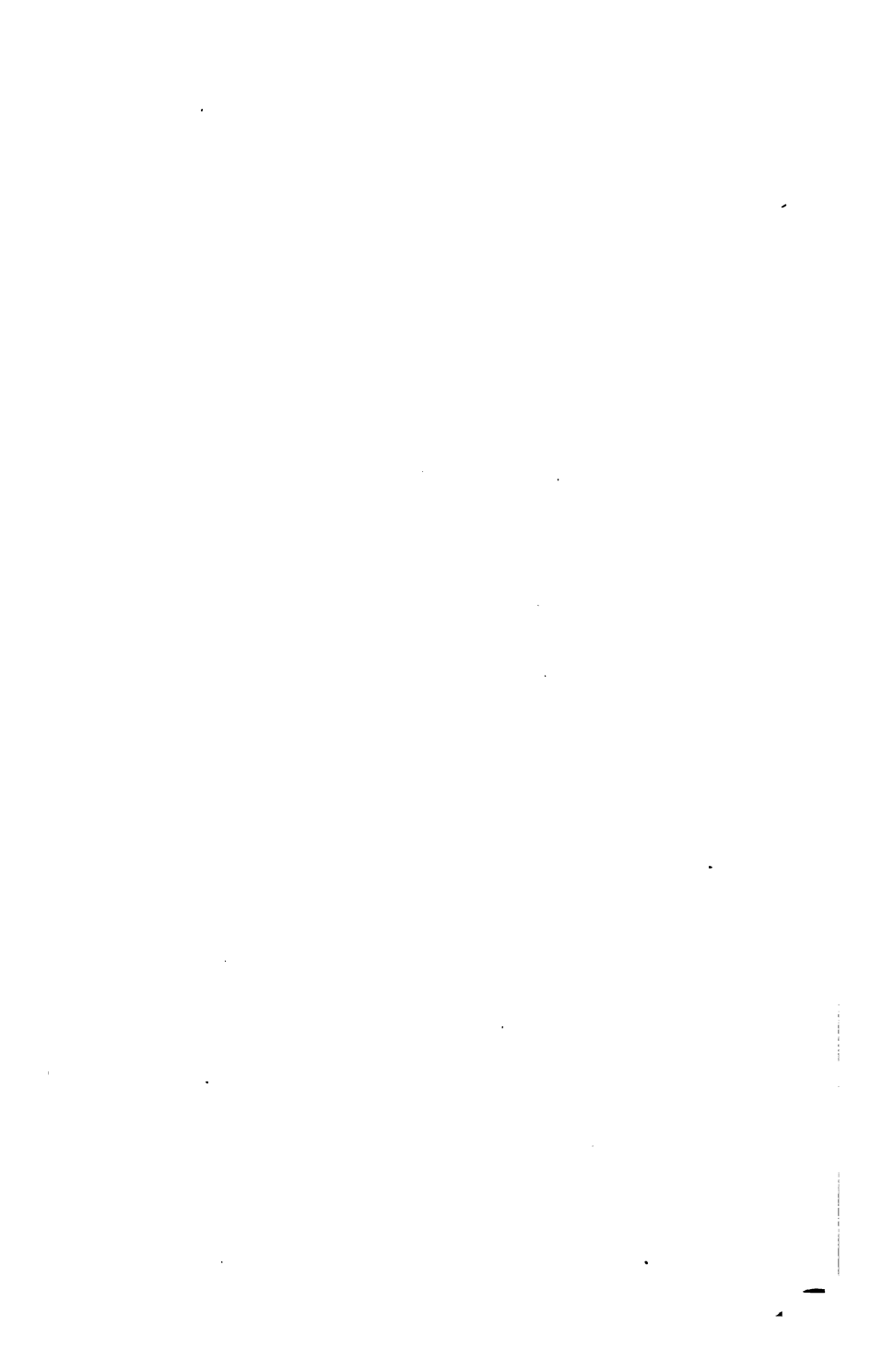
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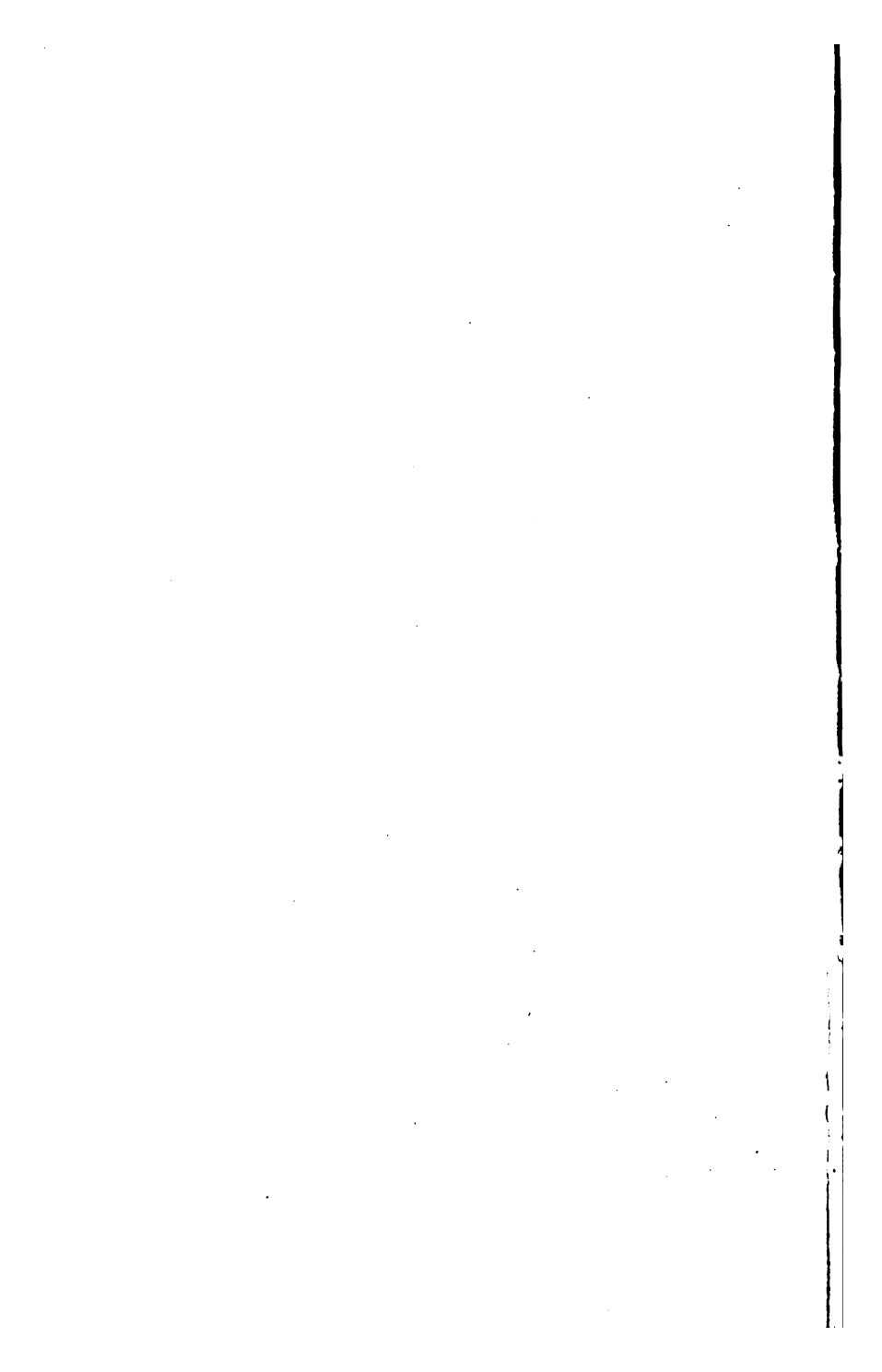
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BY WASHINGTON WILKS.

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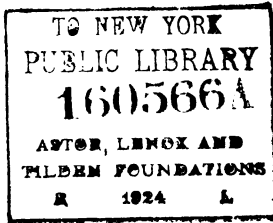
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## PREFACE.

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THERE is a mechanical art and mystery in Author-craft, as in every other craft, which can only be learned by apprenticeship, or an experience tantamount thereto. Whatever a man's fitness for his vocation, whatever the general training he has undergone, the absence of this special knowledge will betray itself. In Author-craft, this secret is—the proportioning of material to space ; of the task to the time for its performance.

The Writer of this volume is “free to confess” what some might otherwise take an ill-natured pleasure in discovering and proclaiming—that the size of his book scarcely permitted the fulfilment of the design expounded in its introductory pages ; and that the Social bears but a small proportion to the Political in the conduct of the narrative. Others may complain, that so small a book should have been so long in preparation.

In apology for the former, the Writer would acknowledge, that though not unaccustomed to literary labour, he is new to the art of book-making ; and that he did hope, in his inexperience, to have found room for all he had to say within twenty-three sheets of bourgeois leaded.

In explanation of the date upon the title-page, be it stated, that the substance of this work has appeared by chapters in a weekly journal; that it was commenced in time for its completion six months since; but that the exciting events with which the new Half Century opened, pushed from the columns of the Newspaper a posthumous record, and subtracted from the Writer's narrow leisure the hours he had devoted to this composition.

Originality of view or statement will scarcely be expected, and will certainly not be found in these pages. The Writer has availed himself of such larger works as covered more or less of the period under review; but though necessarily a compiler, is not conscious of being a copyist. He has endeavoured to form his judgment on the events and questions on which he has written from various sources; and so far from endeavouring to preserve an abstracted air of indifference, has sought to vitalize and colour his records with the breath of opinions conscientiously, and earnestly, but charitably entertained.

W. W.



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## ERRATA.

Page 59, line 10, for "1809" read "1810."

Page 71, line 82, for "1815" read "1814."

Page 129, line 35, for "monarch" read "occupant."

Page 241, line 1, for "1830" read "1833."

## HISTORY OF THE HALF CENTURY.

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### P R O E M.

WE have reached the meridian of the nineteenth century. It is time, therefore, that we review its course, and estimate its character. Its several epochs have already and frequently been made the subject of survey and reflection—the entire period now invites and demands thoughtful retrospect. The progress of events, it is true, as little accommodates itself to as it is determined by our artificial chronologies. As “the horologe of nature has no bell on which to strike the entrance and the exit of its periods,” so are human affairs very independent of almanacks. The cycles of civilization do not correspond with the great celestial circles—nor do the stages of a nation’s career lie parallel with the lesser of the planetary revolutions. Yet is it customary and useful to pursue the researches and speculations suggested by the recurrence of natural eras.

To say that the interval now completed is eventful beyond any that have preceded it, is scarcely more, perhaps, than has been said by the men of every similar lapse of time. “Oh century but half elapsed,” exclaims Jules Janin, “yet reckoning the events of a thousand years!” But contemporaneous judgment is seldom just. The actors or immediate spectators of events are too excited by not to exaggerate them. With this caution, we may nevertheless challenge for the times which have just passed over us, comparison with any former, within the history of our country or of modern Europe, for interest and influence. Other ages have witnessed events of as striking and important a character—as, for example, those of the Crusades, or of the Reformation—but not such a combination, or consentaneous action, of all the social forces; of individual character and public opinion—the vicissitudes of war and the victories of peace. An ancient and powerful dynasty suddenly overturned—a republic rising on its ruins, repelling its foes, changing into a mighty military despotism—that, again, shattered by a league of outraged nationalities; led on by monarchs who, from the assailants of liberty, had involuntarily come to be its unworthy and insincere defenders—the gigantic efforts of one people, in particular, successively, in

both of those opposite relations—the rapid development of latent powers under the genial influence of general peace; the augmentation of wealth, the spread of education, the heightened lustre of literature, the achievements of science and art, the energy of re-awakened religion, the triumphs of philanthropy—the growth of colonies—the emancipation of conscience from the heaviest and most galling of its fetters, the large concession of political power to popular claims, and the legislative recognition of the natural principles of commercial intercourse—the continued prosecution of these great achievements to their ultimatum, yet in the future—the sudden confusion of all calculations, and the precipitation of results the most hoped for and the most dreaded, by the bursting forth anew of that volcano which sixty years before had rained on the surrounding nations the heated, quickened seeds of hasty change, and now with even wider range—these are the varied phenomena of the region on which we can now look back: to arrange and theorize upon them may be a presumptuous, but cannot be an ill-timed nor an unattractive task.

An additional, though somewhat melancholy, appropriateness is given to our undertaking, by the rapidity with which the celebrities of the period I propose to review are passing away from us. The patriarchs of the poetry and criticism of the nineteenth century have sunk under the weight of reverend years. Jeffrey and Sidney Smith, Southey and Wordsworth—those brilliant lights that sat like tongues of flame on Arthur's Seat, or shone with a milder lustre over Windermere—have gone out one by one. The grey masters of the senate and the forum—the foremost wrestlers in the great struggle of parties which seems now to have paused—have fallen, almost side by side, under the hand of a common conqueror, and within our sight. Grey, Melbourne, O'Connell, Peel—they who had grown into manhood, and given promise of future eminence, while the century was yet in its adolescence—are now no more; and invite us from their vacated seats to inform ourselves of their career, and forecast the decision of posterity upon the part they played. Still more recently, an old man, an exile and an ex-monarch, has closed among us a life, the remarkable changes of which were nearly identical with the decades of this history—forced by one revolution to become a wanderer, restored by another to the vast possessions of his princely fathers, elevated by a third to the proud position of an elected king, and scared by a fourth into seeking a final refuge on a foreign but ever hospitable shore. These individual lives, running, like so many coloured threads, through our record, may impart to it that personal interest and dramatic unity which, otherwise, extended and uneven, it might lack, however imposing its successive scenes.

To the seniors of this generation, who have witnessed the events and

participated in the processes I am about attempting to review, such a resumé may be neither uninteresting nor unnecessary. They may be glad to have recalled to their recollection, and re-arranged for their contemplation, the prominent occurrences as well as the less noticeable transitions through which they have lived. Often I have listened with delight to the reminiscences of honoured elders of the times when radical reform was a proscribed sentiment, when the progress of Dissent provoked attempts to revive persecuting enactments as well as excited the virulent hostility of favoured sectaries, when the repeal of test acts was deemed the culmination of religious liberty, and attempts to educate the people were denounced as ridiculous and treasonable. Such pleasant and instructive "confidences"—far more impressive and animating than the best of printed histories—have suggested to me, that to those before whose seniority I uncover, an epitome of these times would be no unacceptable offering. To those whose public recollections are few and imperfect—whose instructors have carefully informed them of the days of Pericles and Cicero, but left those of Pitt and Canning a great anachronism—whose faces are turned to the future—whose hearts beat with impatience for action, and are flushed with hope unchastened by experience—it may be of service to show the precise relations of the recent past to the present and proximate times, to point out the sources of the elements now chiefly operative for good or for ill; the antecedents of the men who occupy the high places of the nation; what has been accomplished by those whose names already echo as from posterity, and what may be expected of those who "stand upon the forehead of the age."

I aim, in the spirit of the sentence quoted in the title-page of this volume, to write—however briefly—the inner "life of the nation" during this expiring half-century. "The life of a nation," continues the eminent writer and excellent man from whom I take the phrase, "is twofold, external and internal—its transactions with other peoples; and its own physical, intellectual, and political progress: the latter has generally been neglected by history, and the former has consisted chiefly of wars." The last clause is, unhappily, emphatically true of our own times. Fifteen of the fifty years just passed, were consumed in almost unintermittent and furious war—and the subsequent thirty-five are not entitled to be styled, as they often and vauntingly are, a "period of profound and uninterrupted peace;" on the shores of the Mediterranean, in the Chinese seas, and among the Indian mountains, our ships and troops have destroyed or yielded up lives as valuable as those which were wasted in the peninsula or on the continent. To those times, Alison's powerful but partisan pen has given ample portraiture. Russell's annals, "brought down" to within a few years—Smollett's "continuation of Hume," continued to the reign of

Victoria—are meagre and unsatisfying. Miss Martineau's very admirable "History of England since the Peace" has scarcely a fault, except that its bulk and expensiveness prevent its general accessibility. Other popular histories run over the same period, with a superficiality that justifies other endeavours. The writer's purpose is, to furnish, however imperfectly, a history of opinions, rather than of events; a retrospect of political and social progress;—to use occurrences as bones upon which to clothe a theory of national life—deal with wars chiefly in relation to their causes and results—follow the camp only that the treaty may be understood—and subordinate even the narration of legislative proceedings to the exhibition of what the people felt and did. From the commencement of the century to the restoration of peace in 1815—thence to the enactment of the Reform Bill—and from that to the present time—will form the natural divisions of the narrative.



# HISTORY OF THE HALF CENTURY

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PERIOD THE FIRST.—1800 TO 1815

## CHAPTER I.

ASPECT OF THE WORLD TO THE DAWNING CENTURY—EVENTS CONSEQUENT ON THE FRENCH REVOLUTION—BONAPARTE'S ITALIAN VICTORIES—THE TREATY OF CAMPOFORMIO—INVASION OF EGYPT—BONAPARTE FIRST CONSUL—STATE OF PARTIES AND THE PEOPLE IN ENGLAND—REBELLION IN IRELAND—OVERTHROW OF TIPPO SULTAN.

"WE are standing," said Lucien Bonaparte, on the eve of 1800, "amid the graves of old and beside the cradle of new institutions." There was more of truth in the sentence than in the majority of such rhetorical utterances. The dawn of the nineteenth century beheld the world in a state of distraction and disorder without a parallel since the Roman empire fell to pieces. Not one of the old powers of Europe was undisturbed—even the ancient immobility of Asia was broken up, and Egypt, the birth place of civilization, invaded by the ambition and defended for the interests of northern rivals. The New World alone—happily separated by a wide expanse of waters from its parent states—was permitted to develop in peace those elements of greatness which it had begun to reveal; and even upon the islands that cluster at its side, descended the skirts of the storm. Washington had just quitted, at the sudden summons of Death, the country in which he was justly revered as Father and Deliverer.

France—at first the occasion, now the chief agent, of this world-tumult—was exchanging the liberties conferred by the Revolution, and retained amid the changes of government that rapidly succeeded, for subjection to the masterful will, and her aggrandisement by the guilty genius, of the First Consul Bonaparte. To understand by what steps *he* had risen, in five or six years, from poverty and obscurity to this eminence of power and station—to comprehend, at the same time, the relative position of the nations—it is necessary that we briefly retrace the course of events consequent on the establishment of the French Republic [1792.]

Not content with repulsing from their frontiers the armies sent by Austria, Prussia, and Britain, to avenge and reinstate the Bourbons, the French threw themselves into the heart of the continent with a vigour and a valour alike surprising and discomfiting to the disciples of Marlborough and Turenne. As if military tactics had shared in the general revolutionising, the soldiers of the Republic—chiefly youths, shoeless, illclad, and but partially armed—pressed into the field, leaving in their rear strongly-garrisoned towns, to be disarmed and occupied by the better-provided divisions that might follow. Thus the Netherlands were subdued—Brussels, Treves, and Cologne, captured—and Holland converted into a republic, under the costly protection of France. Prussia was the first to withdraw from the anti-Gallican league, at the sacrifice of her possessions on this side the Rhine. Spain was next intimidated into peace and alliance. No sooner had the armies of the Republic under Jourdan and Moreau received a check, than it was more than compensated by the brilliant and rapid Italian victories of Bonaparte—brought into notice first by his important service in the reduction of Toulon, next by his suppression of the aristocratic insurrection in Paris. From the Alps to the Po—thence to Rome—and again to the very gates of Vienna—the Austrian forces were driven; three armies being completely destroyed in the course of one year. There the young conqueror dictated the treaty known as that of Campoformio [October, 1797], by which several states of Italy, including part of the Papal territories, were recognised as the Cisalpine Republic; Venice basely surrendered to Austria—the first great crime of Napoleon's career; Genoa, Tuscany, Parma, and Sardinia, reduced to the condition of French dependencies, Naples alone retaining its independence; the Netherlands formally ceded to France, and the Rhine acknowledged as her boundary. Geneva had voluntarily annexed herself to the greater Republic of France; and now the whole of Switzerland was compelled—though not till after the resistance of the democratic cantons had been quelled in bloodshed and suffering—to accept a constitution modelled on that of her imperious neighbour. Received, on his return from his military and diplomatic achievements, with the unbounded acclamations of all classes of the French people, Bonaparte reviewed the army that had been formed by the Directory—the then government—for the pretended purpose of invading England. Perceiving that her power was more vulnerable in the East—where it was about to be boldly assailed by Tippe Saib—and impelled by a romantic passion for oriental conquest, he revived a project of the Grand Monarque, and persuaded the Directory to undertake the subjugation of Egypt. Glad to be relieved of the presence of one whose popularity already threatened their own continuance in power, the Directory despatched him thither. The island of Malta had been previously wrested, as if to provide

him with a convenient halting-place, from the Knights of Jerusalem. How he prospered in that enterprise of audacious ambition, need not here be described—its effect on European politics is more to our purpose. It furnished the British minister with an argument to induce Paul, the Emperor of Russia, and Selim, the Sultan of Turkey, to league with Austria and England [1799] against this “disturber of the peace of nations;” as Bonaparte was now colorably designated. Naples joined in the belligerent alliance, and was the first to suffer for her temerity, being quickly reduced by the French, who had garrisoned all the chief places of Italy, and deposed the Pope, because he failed to complete the exactions promised. The Alps of Tyrol and the Grison were surmounted, to open a passage into Germany, and recrossed in retreat; for there the importance of the Czar’s alliance was felt. The Russian forces, commanded by Suwaroff, enabled Austria to recover much that she had lost. Switzerland and Italy were again the scene and the object of contention. Rome was restored to the Pontificate—Pius the Seventh having been elected to the chair from which the last Pope of that style had been driven, to die in his exile. The French were forced to retreat upon Genoa, and that beautiful and almost impregnable city was consequently subjected to a siege, the horrors of which have distinguished it as amongst the most sanguinary of sieges—and *they* should have a separate chapter in the history of war. Information of these disasters, and of the consequent unpopularity of the Directory, caused—in part, at least—Bonaparte’s sudden and private return from his command in the East. Escaping the British fleet, which, under Nelson, had well nigh destroyed his own at the mouth of the Nile—with a good fortune that reminds one of the dexterous passage of his great prototype through the midst of Pompey’s galleys—he arrived in Paris, to be hailed with applauses stimulated by the recollection of his Italian, as well as the knowledge of his Egyptian, successes; and by a sort of universal, though unavowed, expectation that he would supersede the unequal Directory—guilty of incapacity and corruption. The Council of Elders anticipated his appearance by appointing him military commander of Paris. Accompanied by Moreau, Berthier, Murat, and others of his officers—Bernadotte and Jourdan persisting in fidelity to the Republic—he presented himself to the Council, told them they had saved the country by that resolution, and then announced it in public amid the acclamations of the soldiers. The Directors he upbraided thus:—“What have you done with that France which I left to you prosperous and glorious? I left her at peace, and I find her at war; I left her triumphant, and I find nothing but spoliations and misery. What have you done with the hundred thousand Frenchmen whom I left behind, my companions in arms and in glory? They are no more.” The power of the Directory was at an end—three out of the five resigned, and the two

were virtually prisoners. The Council of Elders and of Five Hundred were adjourned to St. Cloud. The sitting of the former body was entered on the morning of the 19th Brumaire [Nov. 10th, 1799] by Bonaparte, and a premonition given of the more stormy scene that was about to ensue in the Council of Five Hundred—a scene that has become familiar as the companion picture to Cromwell's dissolution of the Long Parliament. A new constitution—last of the many drawn up by the ex-Abbé and ex-Director Sieyès—was quickly decided upon and promulgated. It conferred vast powers on the First Consul, and took away all direct representation from the people. Bonaparte being provisionally nominated, by a fragment of the Five Hundred, to the Consulate, appointed his colleagues, who chose the Senate, the Senate naming a body of one hundred called the Tribunate, and another of three hundred called a Legislature. Self-created, however, as were these authorities, they were sanctioned, when submitted to the people, by a majority of 3,011,007 to 1,562 votes—so willing was the versatile nation to accept a master.

The state of parties and of the people in our own country is less generally known than the events just described. The outburst of the storm found the reins of government in the vigorous hands of William Pitt, son of the greater Chatham. Seduced from among the most democratic of the Whigs, he sat alone on the seat of power, unsustained by the co-operation of a single man of more than mediocre talent, until the apostasy of Burke—if so harsh a term may be applied to the frenzied renunciation of his old principles and friends by that splendid genius. Opposite sat Fox, Sheridan, Erskine, Grey, and (for a while) Windham\*—masters in constitutional learning, parliamentary eloquence, and all the arts of popularity. These, and the Whig party, of which they were the leaders, hailed the Revolution, while they deplored the sanguinary scenes in which its enemies involved it, energetically denounced leaguings with the despots of Europe against the young Republic, and demanded the purification and enlargement of the representation; their parliamentary strength ranging from fifty to ninety-three votes, while the Ministry could at any time command two hundred and fifty to three hundred. Out-of-doors—represented in the House only by young Sir Francis Burdett—was the great democratic party, headed by the celebrated Horne Tooke, which had arisen so early as

\* It was this Windham of whom Dr. Johnson was accustomed to speak as "*inter stellas Luna minores*," and to whom he paid the more equivocal compliment, when lamenting that his new post of Irish Secretary would compel him to practise what his conscience would not approve—"Don't be afraid, Sir, you will soon make a very pretty rascal;" which the all-admiring Boswell calls one of Johnson's best things.

1770, and adopted several organizations, the last of which was the famous London Corresponding Society. Demanding no less than universal suffrage and annual parliaments, they hailed with proportionate delight the triumphs of democracy, first in America and next in Europe, circulated by tens of thousands the replies to Burke's "Reflections" furnished by Mackintosh's brilliant "*Vindiciæ Gallicæ*," and Paine's masterpiece of common sense, "The Rights of Man." Intense was their sorrow and indignation at finding their recreant associate resolute to employ all the powers of their country against France, and to crush themselves into silence. The latter was, indeed, his purpose—as though he would fill up the cup of his guilt with the blood of his companions—and with relentless cruelty was it prosecuted. Supported by the royal favour, and by an overwhelming majority, composed of the members for treasury boroughs, the nominees of courtly peers, and a mob of country gentlemen—while his opponents were weakened by the timidity of the middle classes, whom Burke had most effectually panic-stricken by his phantasms, though he could not inspire them with his patriotism—the Minister replied to every motion for discontinuing the war, or reforming Parliament, by ringing the division-bell; and to the immense gatherings and imposing memorials of the people, by instructing his tool, Sir John Scott (afterwards Lord Eldon), to use all the machinery of the law, and to enlist an infamous army of spies, for the destruction of their leaders. Thus were Palmer, Muir, Skirving, and Gerald—poor Gerald! young, gifted, and enthusiastic; the favourite pupil of that leviathan of learning, Dr. Parr—condemned by the pliant judicature of Scotland to transportation; Gerald dying in the convict-ship. The English reformers—Tooke, Hardy, Thelwall, and others—stood at the bar of the Old Bailey for nine days [Nov. 1794], but were happily acquitted by a courageous jury, to the exultation of the people. The Habeas Corpus Act was suspended, spite of the stubbornest resistance of the few and faithful Whigs who still adhered to Fox—for the majority had followed Burke, under the Duke of Portland and Mr. Windham. The gaols were filled with political prisoners—clubs were shut up—public meetings were suppressed. The retirement and death of Burke—a spirit-broken man—brought to a pause those tremendous encounters which rapt the gaze of England, and the mere record of which fills us with admiration and wonder; the burning philippics of Burke, or the stately eloquence of Pitt, repelled by Fox's crushing declamation—the tirades of the demented genius followed, while yet tingling the ear, by the majestic periods of his gigantic antagonist; half reluctant to strike so heavily an ancient friend, though inspired to his full height by his great theme—as fulminating clouds are imagined to meet and shatter on the heavenly plains; or, as the Homeric heroes, when spear and sword fell broken to the ground like reeds, sent ponderous stones thundering through mid-air—

while Sheridan and Windham rained their sharp and glistening satires from side to side. Fox, and most of his few remaining followers, disgusted with the despotism of the minister—or despairing of supplanting him in power—seceded from the House on the contemptuous rejection of Mr. Grey's motion for a reform of the representation [May, 1797], and but rarely re-appeared during the next four years. They might almost have been forgiven had they despaired of their country, and conspired her deliverance by the perilous chances of an insurrection. The national debt had swelled from the eighty-eight millions of which it consisted at the commencement of the reign, to three hundred and ten millions, and was augmenting every session, by loans of eighteen millions. The annual taxation had risen since the same period, from about ten millions to twenty-eight or thirty millions. Poor-rates were increasing at the frightful speed of from fifty to sixty thousand a year. Some 120,000 sailors and marines were afloat; the yeomanry and volunteers numbered 30,000 men; and the militia, available in Ireland as well as Great Britain, and subject to frequent draftings into the regular army, was 85,000 strong. The Minister's simple method of meeting this enormous and, then, unparalleled expenditure, was the trebling of the assessed taxes; and when that failed, the imposition of an income tax. When the Bank of England found itself unable to meet the loans demanded, and at the same time continue cash payments to its note-holders, it was authorized to issue paper as a legal tender, and to allay the general panic by accommodating bankers and traders with a hundred thousand pounds of specie. Bad harvests, and consequent dearth of food, came to complete the calamities of an oppressed people. And withal, there was little of that success in war which might render them an imaginary compensation, and animate them to sustain their burdens by the excitation of their national pride. Howe and Nelson confirmed the cherished supremacy of Britain on the seas; but defeat almost invariably disgraced and dispirited her forces by land. The Duke of York, with the generalship worthy of his family, led an army of British and Russian soldiers into a captivity from which they could only be redeemed by the surrender of prisoners taken on the other element, by commanders who owed not their commission to their birth. A large proportion of the sums raised from the English people was spent in hiring foreign despots to fight the French, which could bring no glory to those who paid, and only added to the empire it was intended to destroy: Austria received £3,200,000 for one campaign, and the Czar £112,000 a month for the eight months his forces were in the field. But neither disasters abroad nor distress at home could bend the proud obstinacy of the Minister, nor disturb the blind confidence reposed in him by the timid and selfish propertied classes—the landocracy revelling in a false and feverish prosperity; merchants and tradesmen corrupted by the distribution among

them, through innumerable channels, of the treasures destined to be blown from the cannon's mouth, or to feed the men who were themselves to fatten the foreign soil on which they fell. William Pitt had surpassed his predecessors in political profligacy. Walpole bribed the Commons into servility—but Pitt corrupted two great classes of the nation into iniquitous oppression of the poor and of posterity.

Close at our side, rebellion and invasion were threatening. Ireland had been virtually in its own possession since the American war, when an army of volunteers was established. That formidable body had extorted from the Government such concessions to the Catholics as the repeal of the laws excluding them from the franchise, the universities, and the bar; but a large amount of disaffection still existed, excited to fierce and sanguine activity by the example and promises of the French. Lord Edward Fitzgerald, Arthur O'Connor, and Wolf Tone, were at the head of an extensive conspiracy to effect a rebellion and an affiliation with the Republic, whose rulers engaged to assist them with an army under Hoche. More than the proverbial indiscretion of their countrymen appears to have characterised the leaders of the United Irishmen. Delegates authorized to negotiate with the Directory are said to have boasted of their mission in public conveyances. Treacherous confederates divulged their secrets to the infamous agents of Government, and arrests anticipated insurrection. Fitzgerald killed one of his captors, and received a mortal wound himself. Wolf Tone was taken in a French ship, and committed suicide to avoid hanging. O'Connor was banished. In lieu of Hoche and his "irresistible army," said to have been promised by Carnot, the French Minister of War, less than a thousand men landed when the leaders of the 300,000 that were to have received them had been cut off. Thus terminated a project which, while it involved its promoters in ruin, disgraced the Government by the cruelty and villany of its instruments.

But from the East came tidings of decisive victory and fresh conquests. The negotiations of Tippo Sultan with the French, with the Nizam of the Deccan, and with the Affghan tribes, for the expulsion of the English from the Indian continent, came to the ears of the Earl of Mornington, who then ably governed at Calcutta. The Sultan's Mysore territory was invaded, a great battle fought, and Seringapatam, his capital, taken by storm—himself, with true Oriental bravery, falling at its gates, sword in hand; crushed only by the ruins of his throne and of his race. His dominions were, of course, annexed—that huge promontory which ran down into the Indian Ocean, with its valuable sea-coast, was thereby given to the possessors of Hindostan. Thus did we make every hostile round of ment—every rumour, even, of belligerent alliance—a pretext to extinguish aggressions, as well as a reason for armed vigilance—carrying even the off-

the policy for which we outlawed Napoleon in Europe—and schooling his future conqueror in a war as glaringly ambitious as that of Italy; for it was Wellington—then a colonel, but brother to the Governor—who was the hero of our new Indian wars.

## CHAPTER II.

THE FIRST CONSUL'S PROFFER OF PEACE—ITS REJECTION BY GREAT BRITAIN—THE PARLIAMENTARY DEBATE THAT ENSUED THEREON—VIGOROUS RESUMPTION OF THE WAR—CAMPAIGNS OF MARENGO AND HOHENLINDEN—DEFECTION OF RUSSIA FROM THE ALLIES—THE LEGISLATIVE UNION OF IRELAND WITH GREAT BRITAIN—RETIREMENT OF MR. PITT.

BONAPARTE had no sooner seated himself on the Consular throne—for such, indeed, he made his curule chair; installing himself in the Tuilleries with great pomp—than he addressed to the King of Great Britain a letter, written with his own hand—as though to flout the etiquette of courts, and invite the monarch to be a man—urging the restoration of peace for the mutual benefit of their respective nations. “The war which has ravaged for eight years the four quarters of the globe, is it,” he asks, “to be eternal?” “France and England may,” he concludes, “by the abuse of their strength, still, for a time, to the misfortune of nations, retard the period of their exhaustion; but I will venture to say, the fate of all civilized nations is attached to the termination of a war which involves the whole world.”

The answer to this singular and honourable epistle, was from the pen of Lord Grenville, the English Minister of Foreign Affairs; though its cold stateliness betrays the dictation of Mr. Pitt. “The King,” it responded, “has given frequent proofs of his sincere desire for the re-establishment of secure and permanent tranquillity.” Such a peace he was still anxious to obtain—but he regarded it as hopeless “until it shall distinctly appear that those causes have ceased to operate which originally produced the war;” presently paraphrasing the expression, “those causes,” into “the indiscriminate spirit of destruction” “gigantic projects of ambition, and all the restless schemes of destruction which have endangered the <sup>the</sup> existence of society.” While his Britannic Majesty—this amicable and monthly missive went on to say—did not positively limit to the restoration of disasters the re-establishment of peace, nor claim to prescribe to the Ministers form of government, he would intimate that only the one event and selfish private secure the other; and that he had not sufficient respect for prosperity; me.



her new ruler to entertain his proposals. Talleyrand rejoined with becoming spirit, reminding the King of England that he held his crown on the same principle of national choice as that on which the First Consul presumed to address him in the name of France; and that "insinuations which tend to an interference in the affairs of the Republic, are not less injurious to the French nation, and its Government, than it would be to England and his Majesty, if a sort of invitation were held out in favour of that republican system of government of which England adopted the forms about the middle of the last century, or an exhortation to recall to the throne that family whom their birth had placed there, and whom a revolution had compelled to descend from it."

That Napoleon was earnest in his wishes for peace, we are authorized to disbelieve by his own confessions, dictated at St. Helena. The resources of France, it is true, had been seriously impaired by the tremendous efforts she had made; but she would not be content to accept a repose which left her much-prized Italian conquests beneath the paw of Russia, and within the clutch of the Austrian bird. She had armed her military idol with almost absolute power that he might recover to himself and to her the glory of his first victories, and fix the boundary of the Republic at the Rhine, where his soldiers had before stooped to refresh themselves in the weariness of success. In the obstinacy of his foes lay his necessity to France. He could better trust her to defend his throne with the bodies of her children, than to permit him to rule if he cost her nothing. But the very insincerity of the overture entitles it to praise, and indicates a peculiar nobility of mind. Napoleon's interest lay in war—nevertheless, he preferred to make peace. He bent his ambition, for once, at least, to his sense—profound, like all his perceptions, however rapid and evanescent—of the evils it helped to inflict on humanity. He inaugurated his reign, and welcomed the century, with a magnanimous offer of reconciliation with the foes he knew he could humiliate.

Similar to the sentiments thus expressed were those maintained by the Opposition in the British Parliament, on its reassembling [January 1800]. A ministerial address to the King, on his reply to the First Consul, was adopted in the Lords with only six dissentients. But in the Commons a debate of great interest and importance ensued. Mr. Fox pronounced the royal answer "odiously and absurdly wrong;" and proceeded, in one of his most powerful speeches, to recall the origin and review the progress of the war. He reminded the House that, in the very words of the proclamation issued just after the execution of Louis the Sixteenth, the "late atrocious act perpetrated in Paris" was put forward as the ground of war—that it was not till the states of Europe had combined to extinguish France, that she turned upon them—that her ambition had been the off-

spring of her success—and that if portentous violence had been employed against neighbouring governments, it was because the Government of Great Britain persisted in sustaining them when they had outlived their natural tenure of existence. If they could not hope to be at peace with a people whose rulers were but the feeble agents of their passion for propagandism, they could surely trust to the observance of treaties by one who, elevated to personal supremacy, was anxious to consolidate his power by the arts of peace. They seemed—the orator declared, with a force of language only equal to its truth—to reject the very idea of peace, as if it were a curse; and hold fast to war, as an inseparable adjunct to the prosperity of nations. Mr. Pitt replied with a recapitulation of the aggressions and treacheries of the Republic; and vindicated distrust of its new master by exhibiting him as the author of the principal of them while he was but its servant—an argument which had been anticipated by Mr. Fox in the inquiry, whether the allies had not consented to these acts of spoliation, and shared in the profit? as, for example, in the case of Venice. “The attack upon our allies the Dutch”—as he described the expulsion of the tyrannical Stadtholder by a movement from within, only aided from without—was the only overt act which the Minister could adduce as justifying the original proclamation of war. The genius of the French Revolution, armed for destruction, marches forth the terror and dismay of the world—shall we compromise with it while we have yet resources to supply the sinews of war, while the heart and spirit of the country are yet unbroken? were the sentiment and the appeal he addressed to the applauding squires and boroughmongers behind him; and who responded by giving him a majority of two hundred and sixty-five to sixty-four.

Nor did they withhold the means it was unfortunately in their power to grant for the maintenance of despotic power at home, and the execution of belligerent projects abroad. The prolonged suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act was carried, after a debate in which the Whig leaders again displayed great spirit, by the usual majority over them. The severity of the public suffering consequent on the prevalent dearth compelled parliamentary attention; and several committees were appointed, on whose recommendation liberal bounties were placed on the importation of rice and maize, and a reduction in the use of wheat equal to one-tenth of the annual consumption was effected. Taxes and loans to the amount of thirty-nine millions were voted; the Bank of England agreeing to lend three millions without interest, for six years, in consideration of the renewal of its charter for twenty-one years, it having twelve still to run. The minister boasted of it as an extraordinary fact, and as evincing the security of the national credit, that in this, the eighth year of the war, he could obtain a loan of eighteen millions at four and three-fourths per cent. interest;

"but," is the commentary of an admiring historian (Alison)—"but both that great financier and the British public, misled by the fallacious brilliancy of present appearances, overlooked the grievous burden which the contraction of debt in the three per cents.—in other words, the imposition of a burden of £100 for every £60 advanced—was ultimately to produce upon the national resources."

With characteristic vigour, Napoleon prepared for the resumption of hostilities. In a spirit-stirring address to the French people, he made the use that might have been expected of the British government's refusal to negotiate a peace. Cheerful submission to an increase of twenty-five per cent. on the taxes, a zealous compliance with the conscription, and a rally of the veterans who were entitled to repose, was the prompt response to his appeal. Two hundred and fifty thousand men were quickly ready for the field, and a hundred thousand more under military training. With some thirty thousand of the former, he set out in May for that wonderful—though much over-rated—passage of the Alps, which is pictured to this day in nearly every print-shop window; descending on the astonished Austrians, who occupied the plains beneath, with the force and swiftness of the eagle that afterwards sat upon his standards. Pushing his way to the Ticino, he was there joined by other divisions, who had come by easier routes than the St. Bernard; entered Milan, marched through Lombardy, crossed the Po, and on the plain of Marengo—in front of Alessandria, a city of Piedmont—awaited the attack of the Austrian general; whose communication with Vienna, it will be seen by a glance at the map, was thus cut off. Not by his own skill, nor by the valour of his troops, nor by the fault of the enemy, but by one of those inexplicable incidents which look like the interventions of a special providence or the indication of a personal fate, was that terrible battle converted into one of Napoleon's most celebrated victories. The panic of the field seemed to extend to the council; for although the Austrians had still an army of forty or fifty thousand men in Italy, they surrendered that country to its former conqueror, who re-entered Paris in triumphal procession on the 3rd of July; so short is the time that sometimes suffices great men for the accomplishment of great results. Before the end of the year, his generals on the Rhine had opened another road to Vienna by the victory of Hohenlinden—fought under the boughs of that great pine forest which stretches between the rivers Iserr and Inn—and compelled the affrighted Emperor to sue for a separate peace; though he had received two millions and a half from England to prosecute the war. The treaty of Luneville [February, 1801], as this agreement was designated, more than confirmed that of Campoformio—extending the confines of the Cisalpine Republic, and transferring the Duchy of

Tuscany from its hereditary possessor to a nominee of Napoleon's, Louis, son of the Duke of Parma; who having married a Spanish princess, Spain was to consider herself thereby compensated for the destruction of her fleets by those of Britain. The timid Ferdinand, King of Naples and Sicily, was glad to make peace shortly afterwards.

The Czar had been detached from the alliance by the politic courtesies of the First Consul, and the affront his eccentric ambition, as Grand Master of the Knights of St. John, had received by the retention of Malta by the English, to whom it surrendered after a blockade of two years. Consenting to the policy everywhere dictated by Bonaparte to his allies, he closed his ports to British commerce; and with a superfluity of zeal to serve his new friend—or rather a cruelty congenial to his character—seized the British ships then in his rivers, and threatened their crews with the dreary deserts of Siberia. Under the inspiration of the same ever-vigilant genius, he was flattered into assuming the lead in that maritime confederacy of Sweden, Norway, Denmark, and Prussia, which, professing to assert the naval rights of neutral nations, in reality threatened England with greater dangers than she had yet encountered; for it attempted to cripple the right arm of her might, while it left her to confront alone the power she had insulted when unfriended, and whose ambition she had chafed into vindictiveness. Nor did she decline the contest—her spirit seemed to rise as she beheld the armed neutrality changing into hostile confederacy. Pitt had ceased to administer her affairs—from causes presently to be exhibited—but he still ruled in her councils; the Opposition pleading in vain for peace. Unscrupulous as well as undaunted, her great naval commander, Nelson, was despatched to deal destruction to the armament assembled beneath the “wild and stormy steep” of Elsinore. Prussia was obliged to relinquish Hanover, almost as soon as she had seized it; and the Danes compelled to restore Hamburgh to its ancient dignity of a Free City. The death of Paul—strangled by his nobles, after the manner of Russian sovereigns—completed the destruction of the northern league; for his son and successor, Alexander, instantly reversed the helm of imperial policy—changing, probably, thereby the issue of the war; and affecting, most seriously, the fortunes of England. Paul had plotted with Napoleon the invasion of India—a project dear to the ambition of both; the one was to pour a Cossack and Tartar horde down the Affghanistan defiles up which we have lately sent our adventurous troops—the other to have debarked in the Persian gulf, and retrodden the track of Alexander the Great. But the death of Paul, consentaneously with the expulsion of the French from Egypt, delivered England from that peril, and preserved to her the magnificent dominion to whose capabilities and obligations she is now but beginning to awake.

The war was wearing itself to a close, like a conflagration that has no more on which it can lay its tongue of flame. Now that the combatants were reduced to two, there remained no field on which they could contend. France and her maritime allies had lost their colonies and ships—England had no land forces that she could oppose to the victors of Marengo and Hohenlinden. The military ambition of the one, and the naval pride of the other, no longer demanded sustenance and excitement. Both could better afford to rest here than to continue a contest in which neither could hope to prevail. While our cruisers were seizing on every vessel that ventured forth into the British Channel or the German Ocean, and every port between the Texal and Calabria was blockaded, diplomatic messages were crossing each other; and, after several months' negotiation, preliminaries of a general peace were signed at London on the 1st of October, 1801. By these it was provided that Egypt be restored to the Porte, Malta to the Knights of Jerusalem, and the harbours of the Roman and Neapolitan States to their former sovereigns—that a compensation be provided for the House of Orange, and other dispossessed princes—and that the integrity of Portugal, which had been invaded by French and Spanish troops, as an old ally of England, be respected. Ceylon and Trinidad were ceded to Great Britain; who, on the other hand, consented to abandon in Asia, Pondicherry, Cochin, Negapatam, and the Spice Islands; in Africa, the Cape of Good Hope, Goree, and Senegal; in North America, St. Pierre, Miguelon, and Louisiana; in South America, Surinam, Demerara, Berbice, Essequibo, and Guiana; in the West Indies, part of St. Domingo, Martinique, Tobago, St. Lucie, Guadaloupe, and Curagoa. The Seven Islands of the Adriatic were constituted a republic, and its independence guaranteed. Great was the joy manifested in both countries at the sight of returning peace. Paris vied with London, and the provinces of England responded to the departments of France, in expressions of delight. In our own country, there was an exception to the general rejoicing. Lord Grenville and Mr. Windham were the mouthpiece of a party who denounced the peace as disgraceful and disastrous. They complained, truly enough, that the original object of the war was farther than ever from accomplishment; and pointed, with indignation, to the extended boundary we permitted France to retain—to the belt of satellite republics that we left unbroken—above all, to the numerous colonies we consented to restore to France and her dependents. Pitt cast his ægis over the Ministry to whom he had resigned power; and the Whigs found themselves in the novel position of swelling the majority which he always commanded. The preliminaries were sanctioned by both parties, with the provision that Malta should be evacuated by the English forces within three months, and the King of Naples be invited to garrison it, as the property of the Order of St. John had been almost destroyed by

successive confiscations in the countries where it was held. The definitive treaty was signed at Amiens on the 27th March, 1802.

We gladly return from the track of armies and diplomatists to observe the one great event which our politicians found leisure to accomplish; namely, the union of Ireland with Great Britain. The proposal was mooted in both parliaments in the session of 1799. In the Irish Commons an address to the King in its favour was carried by only a majority of one; and in two subsequent divisions its friends and opponents alternately prevailed. In the British Parliament it at once took precedence of all other questions but that of war or peace. Pitt advocated it by arguments supplied in plenty by the late unhappy insurrection. To place Ireland under the same central power as England and Scotland would lessen her exposure to foreign invasion, diminish the mischievous influence of demagogues, and lead to a fusion of the two races; it would facilitate—he added, in an under-tone of significance and promise—the relief of the Catholic population from the degrading and oppressive disabilities under which they still groaned. The project was warmly, even fiercely debated, the Whigs professing to see in it only an attempt to extend the influence of the Crown; but resolutions were finally adopted, by immense majorities, as the basis of the Union. There the matter rested till January 1800, when it was re-opened in the Irish Parliament by Lord Castlereagh—a name now emerging into prominence as that of Pitt's most able and unscrupulous coadjutor; and not again to be lost sight of, till its possessor descends into an unblest grave. Great excitement prevailed in Dublin and the provinces; the people saw in the absorption of the Parliament the complete subjugation of their country, instead of its elevation from the rank of a conquest into that of a nation. The Catholics had suffered too much in the recent rebellion to expect aught but insults from the hand of their chastisers. But the nature and effect of the means employed by the Minister and his subordinate during the recess were at once evident. The distribution of prospective peerages and lesser gifts proved the worthlessness and effected the extinction of the independent Irish Parliament, glorified in its last days by the patriotism and eloquence of Flood, Grattan, and Curran. The exact balance of parties was converted into an eager ministerial majority of forty-two. The two Houses joined in an address to the King, assuring him of their loyal readiness to accept the resolutions already presented to him by his British Lords and Commons as the terms of the Union. They were; the confirmation of the Protestant succession—the consolidation of the Parliaments; four Irish prelates to sit alternately in each session, and twenty-eight laic peers to be chosen for life; sixty-four county and thirty-six city and borough members to have seats in the Commons—the enjoyment of all commercial privileges in common—the public debt of each country to be charged upon its own resources—the

proportions of taxation to be fifteen parts for Great Britain and two for Ireland, for twenty years—and the maintenance of laws and courts of judicature on their then footing. The measure, thus affirmed, was re-presented to the British Parliament. The Whigs, under the leadership of Grey, Sheridan, and Tierney, renewed their resistance to it ; Mr. Grey moving, in his special capacity of parliamentary reformer, that forty of the most decayed Irish boroughs be disfranchised, which amendment found only thirty-four supporters. In the month of June the Act of Union reached the final formality of legislation. The British Parliament was then prorogued, but met again, as usual, in November (the city of London, and other important bodies, had besought the King to convene it a month earlier on account of the distressing dearth). On the last day of the year the session closed, with the announcement from the throne that on the 22nd of January, 1801, the Imperial Parliament of Great Britain and Ireland would hold its first sitting. Whether the Union then consummated was for the mutual good of the nations in whose name it was contracted, the course of our history will demonstrate.

Nor have we to wait for the first indication of that result. Pitt lost no time in the redemption of his pledge to the Catholics, either to procure their relief or to retire from office. The question appears to have been first mooted in the council on the King's speech. The King not only refused to introduce it, but declared that he should consider any man his personal enemy who pressed it upon him. His conscience would not allow him to entertain the violation of his coronation oath he believed it to involve. To the expostulations of Dundas he is said to have replied, "Scotch metaphysics cannot destroy religious obligations." Pitt was not the man to persevere in a contest with obstinate bigotry—a contest alike undignified and hopeless. He made his resignation the alternative, and it was accepted, with many, and doubtless sincere, expressions of the royal regret. The harass of the affair brought on the King a return of his unhappy mental malady. For some weeks this was kept from the knowledge of the public, Pitt remaining in office until supplies were voted, and his protégé, Mr. Henry Addington—then Speaker of the House of Commons—could form a Ministry. By that time the King had recovered ; and Mr. Addington, the Duke of Portland, and Lord Hawkesbury, took the seats vacated by Pitt, Dundas, and Grenville ; their staunch opposition to the slightest change in the direction of civil and religious liberty further ensured by the appointment of Sir J. Scott, under the title of Lord Eldon, to the woolsack.

It was not, however, the Catholic question alone which caused, in the seventeenth year of his administration, and at the height of his power, Mr. Pitt's retirement. There can be no doubt that his sagacious eye perceived what his pride would not permit him to acknowledge—the failure of the

war to accomplish the object he designed by it, and the necessity of a temporary peace to the chance of its ultimate success. Like other great men, perverted by the allurements of power from the path marked out by conviction, he was a Tory not in principle but in place. It was not because he either hated or feared the revolutionary spirit, but because he was committed to the service of a master who did both, that he engaged the country in a war with France—a war feebly conducted till his spirit was excited by the disgrace of defeat. Then he uttered his memorable speech, "Unless the monarchy of France is restored, the monarchy of England is lost for ever." As the tempest grew wilder and the storm stronger, his desire mounted into determination to struggle with and tame it. He kept the helm till the highest wave was ridden, and then resigned it to feebler hands. He foresaw, that though the northern maritime confederacy was dissolved, another might be formed, of greater strength; that then our commerce would be straitened, and with that our already strained finances fail; that on his own principles there could be no end to the conflict but in the ruin of one or both empires. He found a pretence, therefore, for his retirement, in a difference between him and the King which would procure him the sympathy of the worthiest of his opponents. To lesser men he would resign identification with a peace that would be patriotic and popular, whatever its defects; and with a policy of bigotry and injustice which would quickly become ignominious and untenable.

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### CHAPTER III.

THE PEACE ONLY AN ARMISTICE—THE RELATIVE CONDITION OF ENGLAND AND FRANCE—THE DESPOTISM AND AGGRESSIONS OF NAPOLEON—THEIR EFFECT ON THE PUBLIC MIND OF ENGLAND—THE RESUMPTION OF WAR—TRIAL OF FELTIER.

WE have arrived at one of the unhappiest passages of our review—if, as the writer feels, the contemplation of the premature joy and delusive hopes of an unreal peace, be more painful than that of the fiercest passions or severest suffering which war can excite and inflict. Loud and universal was the gratification of both peoples at the cessation of the exhausting conflict in which their rulers had engaged them; and well it might, for when they had leisure to look around them, they found, partially at least, how much they had been plundered during these ten years. The relative strength of both countries, Mr. Pitt justly observed, was the same as at the commencement of the contest. France, notwithstanding the vast additions she made to her



territory, and the enormous exactions she levied from subjugated states, had diminished her annual revenue—that is, the sum yearly abstracted from the earnings of industry for the purposes of the state; and which, as governments only limit their exactions to the ability of their subjects, is some criterion of national prosperity—and her debt was only kept down by the extinction of two-thirds of its amount. But England, whose hard lot it was to bear the losses of unfortunate allies, while she kept faith with her own creditors, had increased her revenue from about fifteen to forty millions, and her debt, funded and unfunded, from two hundred and forty-four to four hundred and eighty-four millions. But she possessed, and was rapidly developing, elements of prosperity which France had not. Her maritime superiority gave her almost the monopoly of the world's trade. Her revolted colonies were opening an intercourse with her that far more than compensated for their loss. The enterprise of her manufacturers, aided by the ingenuity of her artisans, was rendering her middle and northern counties fruitful in wealth. The rise of rents had proportionably stimulated agricultural industry. The redistribution, in new and innumerable streams, of the golden tide that rolled year after year into the treasury, retarded that accumulation of property in the hands of a few which is the natural result of taxing circulating more heavily than realized capital. True, there was the flush of fever as well as the glow of health on the national prosperity. That generation had not only spent the savings of several past, but drawn on the earnings of many more to come. It had also had recourse to sources of fictitious wealth, and mistaken the unnatural and temporary energy thereby imparted, for a legitimate though extraordinary accession of strength. Wheat at six pounds a-quarter, more than double its average price at the commencement of the war, and the sharp complaints of those who could only complain, did not dissipate the delusion. The time of awakening had not yet come—it did not come, unhappily for us, in time to prevent a deadlier and more exhausting struggle.

Very different was the condition of France. Great, incontestably great were the blessings conferred on her by the Revolution; but they had not then exhibited their indubitable preponderance over the evils by which they were accompanied. The ruined chateau and deserted factory, pillaged churches and silent schools, indicated and imaged the severity with which the process of necessary purgation had been carried on. Of the old nobility and still more ancient Church, there were no remains but such as strew a tempest-beaten coast. The land had been ridded of the oppressions of the one and the superstitions of the other; but the popular proprietary that now constitutes the stability of French society had not then been established, nor was the social power of religion felt. To build up these shattered materials—first quenching the fires that slumbered beneath, and sometimes flickered on the surface—Napoleon made the work of peace. And he went

about it with a wisdom and vigour that proved his genius universal; though it revealed him essentially despotic, sometimes mean, and devoid of moral sense. The re-establishment of the national credit was his primary care. His coffers he replenished by an equitable readjustment of the land-tax. Emigrants he encouraged to return, and provided for their re-settlement. Religion and art he patronized, that both might lend their powerful aid to his great designs. Christianity, as "the religion of the majority of Frenchmen, and of the civilized world," was solemnly installed beside the seat of civil government; and the public observation of the rites of the Catholic church enjoined by the authority of the State; in order to which, some twenty thousand priests were permitted to return to their curés, from prison or banishment. Men of ability were appointed to all the offices of the State. Neither royalist nor republican sentiments were any bar to advancement, if they were not so extreme as to forbid subservience to the new power. Tronchet, the courageous advocate of Louis the Sixteenth, he made a chief judge. The Vendean chiefs he treated with clemency, and induced to swear allegiance to a power that respected their exiled king. He made the Tuileries the centre of a brilliant court; established the Legion of Honour, and rewarded his partisans with its decorations, while he studiously banished republican effigies and insignia from public edifices; and got himself made First Consul for life. Happy had it been for France, and for the renown of Napoleon, had he stopped there. Liberty might have forgiven him encroachments on her immunities, for his services to law and order, had he been content to rest his throne on the will of the people, from whom he received it.\* He was not a usurper, and, if a despot, he need not have been a tyrant. But he had no faith in his own good intentions, nor in the grateful satisfaction of a people when they are well governed. He therefore resolved to hold his power, as though he had gained it by force and fraud. He organized a secret police, and recommenced the atrocious system of arbitrary arrests. He made an attempt on his life the pretext for transporting a hundred and thirty Jacobins, as earnest republicans were still stigmatized, though the plot was distinctly traced to some fanatical royalists, who afterwards suffered death for it. He abolished what liberty the press had enjoyed under the Directory. Everything, he boasted, was restored but the Bourbons—and, muttered the honest republican Delmas, the million of lives lost in expelling them. He centralized the public functions till he had a

\* It is instructive to observe the proportion of the French people which sanctioned its several revolutions. For the establishment of the Directory, in 1793, there were 1,801,918 votes; for the modification of 1795, 1,057,390; for the Consulate, 1799, 3,011,007; for the prolongation of the First Consulship to ten years, 1802, 3,559,885; for the Empire, 1804, 3,572,329—and this by manhood suffrage, out of a population of twenty-five millions.

knot of agents in every corner of the country ; and attached more than as many more to his fortunes, by the hope of places in Italy or Holland. He added to his titles that of "Mediator of the Helvetic League," and, supporting his decisions in that character by military force, incorporated Valais with France. He seized upon Parma, Placentia, and Elba, creating the Duke of Parma King of Etruria. He changed the Cisalpine into the Italian Republic, and took the title and powers of its President. Piedmont he annexed to France as "the department of the Po." He maintained a large army in Holland at the expense of the inhabitants, and effected such alterations in its government as made it more subservient to his policy. He divided between Austria and Prussia, at the Congress of Ratisbon, a number of minor German states, as indemnification for his own encroachments on their possessions—three of the great powers of Europe thus infamously partitioning the territories of weaker states, without even the semblance of consultation with their inhabitants. Worst of all, he despatched an army to the island of St. Domingo, the negroes of which, emancipated at the Revolution, had established a republic of their own, under the famous Toussaint—the Spartacus of modern slavery—and his lieutenants, Henri Christophe and Dessalines ; an army composed, too, we are assured, of men selected for their troublesome republicanism—that if it perished by fever and the sword, it might be better spared. Such was, indeed, the fate of the expedition—from forty to fifty thousand soldiers were cut off by the infuriated negroes, and their sympathetic climate.

The despotism of his internal government converted the admiration which English democrats had entertained for Bonaparte as the champion and child of the Revolution, into detestation of him as the greatest of liberticides ; while his foreign aggressions justified the jealousy of our rulers, and gave a colour to the predictions of the war-party. The continued occupation of Malta and the Cape of Good Hope by English troops, contrary to the terms of the treaty, was the practical exhibition of the one, and helped to fulfil the other. The King's speech at the meeting of Parliament on the 16th of November, only six short months after the signature of the definitive treaty of peace, spoke of renewed hostilities as probable, almost inevitable ; and the House of Commons endorsed the sentiment by voting estimates framed for such a contingency. On the 8th of March in the following year [1803], a royal message was delivered in both Houses, to the effect, that as very considerable military preparations were going forward in the ports of France and Holland, additional means of defence were necessary ; and compliant addresses in reply were voted unanimously. The next day his Majesty's intention to call out the militia was communicated ; and the next, ten thousand seamen were added to the fifty thousand before voted. On the 6th of May, Parlia-

ment was informed that negotiations were pending on which the mutual recall of ambassadors depended; on which both Houses adjourned till something decisive was known. Presently the recall of our ambassador was announced, and on the 17th, an order of Council authorized reprisals "against the ships, goods, and subjects of the French Republic;" and a proclamation was issued of "an embargo on all ships in the British ports belonging to either the French or Batavian republics, or to any countries occupied by French armies." The manly voice of Fox was again raised in deprecation of war—especially on the pleas put forth by Ministers whose pretensions he reduced to the bare desire of retaining Malta. But he did not hesitate to condemn the continental policy of Bonaparte in language worthy of himself—although he had enjoyed the courtesies of the First Consul, and ready permission to search the archives of France for auxiliary materials of the "History of England from the Revolution" on which he was engaged; the hereditary task and consolation of Whig chieftains out of office. "Were I a master of the use of colours," said the great Whig statesman, "and could paint with skill, I would take the darkest to delineate the conduct of France towards Holland. It certainly has been worse treated by her than any other country whatever. Holland has not only suffered all the unavoidable evils of war; but when peace came, to turn that country, in defiance of a positive treaty with her, into a depôt for French troops, for the mere purpose, I sincerely believe, of making the Dutch pay the expenses of maintaining them, was an act no less despicable for its meanness than hateful for its atrocity." The declaration of war, we are told, was received by the English people with almost universal enthusiasm—with bursts of cheering in public places, and but faint regret in the homes where domestic solitudes temper public spirit. The reimposition of the income-tax, and other obnoxious imposts—bringing the revenue up to forty-one millions—and the prospect of personal service in the new army of reserve, of fifty thousand men, to be balloted for, as for the militia, did not damp this bellicose ardour—especially as a few tents on the Boulogne coast looked like the van of an army for the invasion of England. Surely the silence of a sad, brave heart was more becoming to the supposed exigence than shouts of eagerness and defiance. But alas! so weak are the admonitions of reason and experience in the presence of popular panic or passion.

There was one incident which powerfully contributed to inflame these feelings, and give to the impending war the meretricious glory of a crusade for independence and liberty. Bonaparte had made frequent complaints to the English Government of the attacks made upon him in our newspapers, and even applied for the expulsion of royalist or Jacobin refugees from within our shores. One of these, Jean Joseph Peltier, a royalist, commenced, after the peace of Amiens, a new journal *L'Ambigu*, in which

he virulently assailed the First Consul. Its fourth number contained an ode ascribed to *Chenier*, the republican poet, in which *Napoleon Bonaparte* was compared to *Julius Cæsar*, and a *Brutus* invoked for the destroyer of his country's liberties. *Bonaparte*, with that melancholy littleness which always besets the tyrant, permitted himself to be greatly irritated by this and similar effusions, and demanded satisfaction from our Government. *Lord Hawkesbury* replied, in a strain of conveniently-assumed respect for the liberty of the press, that in England newspapers were uncontrollable by any power but the law, before whose tribunals the First Consul might, if he pleased, implead his assailant. At renewed demands, the Attorney-General (*Spencer Perceval*), was instructed to file an information, and the trial came on in the court of King's Bench, before *Lord Ellenborough* and a special jury, on the 21st of February, 1803. By a happy choice, *Peltier* had selected for his counsel the able and eloquent *Mackintosh*. The speech which he delivered on the occasion is so strikingly indicative of the change which had come over the public mind in relation to *Bonaparte*—the vindicator of the Revolution standing up to arraign the head of the Republic—as to be worth particular description. The subject was inspiration in itself—in the contrast of condition between the real prosecutor, the master of the greatest empire which the civilized world had yet seen, and the defendant, a poor friendless outcast—in the obvious issue of the encounter. *Mackintosh*, with his reputation as a forensic orator yet to make, had skilfully constructed these materials into a set oration, and was warmed and encouraged in its delivery by the presence of a crowded and distinguished audience. That English law-court he represented as the last refuge of his persecuted client—the only spot on earth on which he could confront his persecutor on equal terms, and feel secure from his vengeance. He offered up thanksgivings to the Almighty Ruler that after the wreck of everything in Europe venerable and precious, Englishmen were sitting there to-day, free and fearless, administering justice after the manner of their fathers. Holland, Switzerland, and the imperial towns of Germany had till lately participated with us in the pride and value of a free press—but Holland and Switzerland were now no more, and nearly fifty of the free Germanic cities had vanished since last summer. Every press in Europe, from Palermo to Hamburg, was now enslaved—"but," the orator exclaimed, forgetful how recently every guarantee of English liberty had been suspended on the will of a despotic minister, "one asylum of free discussion is still inviolate! There is one little spot where man can freely exercise his reason on the most important concerns of society—where he can boldly publish his judgment on the acts of the proudest and most powerful of tyrants. The press of England is still free! It is guarded by the free constitution of our forefathers. It is guarded by the arms and hearts of Englishmen; and I trust

I may venture to say, that if it be to fall, it will fall only under the ruins of the British empire. It is an awful consideration. Every other monument of European liberty has perished. That ancient fabric, which has been gradually raised by the wisdom and virtue of our forefathers, still stands: it stands, thanks be to God! solid and entire; but it stands alone, and it stands amidst ruins." The orator was unsuccessful in his immediate object; Peltier was condemned, but before he was called up for judgment war was proclaimed, and he escaped. In the meanwhile he published a report of his trial and of his counsel's speech, numerous copies of which found their way into France, and a French translation was made by the sparkling pen of the celebrated Madame de Stael. The affair unquestionably did much to exasperate Bonaparte against England, and to excite against him the feelings of English and continental democrats.

Thus the war was precipitated—it is hard to say whether more by the guilt of one party than the other. The English Government were impatient for hostility, and found its opportunities and excuses in every trifle. They put forward a bundle of grievances—the mission of a French agent to Egypt, the Italian annexation, the occupation of Switzerland and Holland, the partitions of Ratisbon—as a ground for war, which singly they had not deemed worth a remonstrance. They evaded the mediation of Russia, equivocated about and delayed the evacuation of Malta, at last positively refused to treat even if that envied sentry-post of the Mediterranean were surrendered to them, and were the actual aggressors by their letters of marque. It cannot be doubted that Napoleon was rather anxious to gain time than desirous to preserve peace—that he bent all the powers of his stupendous mind and all the resources of his empire to the creation of a naval and military power such as it would be impossible for England to resist; on his own principle that "fifteen millions must give way to forty millions"—that he was scooping out harbours, building ships, and planting colonies on every available spot, besides raising immense land forces, intending some day to combine soldiers and seamen in what he called his "battle of Actium." To irreconcilable antagonists treaties are but feeble bonds of peace, in the absence of an international public opinion competent to understand and enforce them. To that opinion Bonaparte professed his willingness to appeal. "Woe to those who do not respect treaties!" he exclaimed to the English ambassador—"they will be responsible to all Europe." All Europe and posterity have cause to reprobate, even to execration, the names of William Pitt and Napoleon Bonaparte, as the representatives of the mutual

\* The population of Great Britain, at the census of 1800, was 10,942,000; that of Ireland about four and a half millions. The population of France at the same period was about twenty-five millions.

hatreds that impelled the nations again to war, shouting the exchanged watchwords, "Liberty" and "Glory."

Leaving the operations of the belligerents to be recounted when necessary to the understanding of a political situation, we must turn aside to the contemplation of a truly tragic affair. Emmett and Russell were two Irishmen, singularly unlike in age and social position, but both inflamed with an enthusiastic desire for the emancipation of Ireland from what they deemed the oppressive yoke of England. Robert Emmett was the son of the vice-regal physician, and brother to one of the banished leaders of the insurrection of '98. His father's death had put him in possession of two or three thousand pounds, which he devoted to the propagation of his ardent republicanism. Thomas Russell was an old half-pay officer, who had fought at Bunker's Hill, in the War of Independence, and whom polemical, and particularly Apocalyptic studies, as a Presbyterian preacher at Belfast, had combined with political enthusiasm to fanaticise. Emmett was at the head of a central committee in Dublin, which resolved upon an attack on the castle, for which the 23rd of July [1803]—eve of the festival of St. James, when great numbers of peasantry would be in the city—was fixed. By the unusual thoroughness of the conspirators, their plans were kept from the Government, or, at least, more than the knowledge of their intention; which caused two bills, one for trying rebels by martial law, another for suspending the Habeas Corpus Act, to be passed in one sitting of the two Houses, and sent to Ireland. On the appointed day, at the firing of a signal-rocket, Emmett issued forth into the crowded streets. But the sight of two or three savage murders committed by the half-drunken mob, and their tipsy indisposition to march on the castle, dissipated in a moment the patriotic delusion of the brave and high-minded Emmett. He fled to the Wicklow mountains, but finding no hiding place or asylum, was obliged to return to Dublin, whither he was tracked by the police. Russell had as totally failed in his attempt at a rising in the North, and, coming to Dublin, was also apprehended. They, and several others, suffered death for treason—Emmett's fate rendered the more tragic by the circumstance of his betrothment to Curran's daughter, and by the high qualities of mind and heart his well-known speech exhibited; a fate which has called down the tribute of a poetic eloge from Moore. He was a Protestant, and it was a Protestant spirit by which his enterprise was inspired; which would have secured its failure whatever the abilities of its leaders or the aid of French allies. It seems a dishonour to the memory of Emmett and Russell here to say, that at the beginning of the year one Colonel Despard had engaged some thirty mechanics, soldiers, and labourers, in London, in a conspiracy against the King and Government, inspired by a crazy sense of personal injuries; which insane plot, notwithstanding the merciful appeal of the

jury, and the gallant testimony of Lord Nelson, cost Despard and half-a-dozen of his associates their lives: the most popular and paternal of Kings, the strongest of Governments, could not afford to be merciful to an offence the most open to clemency.

The review of the year closes with more tidings of victory and subjugation from the East. Tippoo was not the last, though the greatest, of the enemies to the English in India. A French adventurer, one M. Perron—a subaltern in the armada despatched by Louis the Fourteenth to wrest India from the hands of Warren Hastings and his masters—had risen by his military skill to the headship of the Mahratta confederacy. He had organized a body of sixteen thousand infantry on the European model, and a formidable train of artillery, beside collecting those vast numbers of horse and foot which seem to rise like clouds of dust from the plains of Hindostan. Against these were directed a large British and native army, of which Major-General Wellesley was the commander; and which, in the victories of Assaye, Delhi, and Laswarree, utterly overthrew the Frenchman and his followers. Four battles were fought, and eight fortresses taken, in a few months. The result was the acquisition of the Mahratta territory between the Juma and the Ganges, the whole of Cuttack in Orissa, and the richest portions of Bundelcund and Guzerat; securing to us the navigation of the immense coast stretching from the mouth of the Ganges to the Indus. We may anticipate the course of events to add, that, in less than two years later, another Mahratta war broke out. Holkar had risen, upon the ruin of his fellow-princes, to an eminence of power which excited the suspicion and jealousy of our authorities. A treaty of alliance was proposed to him, as a test of his intentions, and it being refused, his forces and forts were cannonaded into submission; and when he induced the Rajah of Bhurtpoor to assist him, the rajah was reduced to whatever terms might be conceded him. Holkar was driven beyond the Hyphasis—known to all readers of ancient history as the boundary of Alexander's march from his Persian capital. But for the recall of the Wellesleys, new and yet larger annexations would have followed. As it was, the aged and infirm Marquis of Cornwallis arrived in India only in time to die, and a moderate policy was enforced by the Calcutta civilians upon the soldiers, who then, as now, chafed under their dictation. It was time, indeed, that the career of aggression and aggrandisement pursued since the days of Clive should rest. Occasions of quarrel were continually arising, and every one was made available for the extension of an empire surely sufficient to compensate our ambition for that which Napoleon was building up in Europe. With scarcely a remonstrance at home, we aggrandised ourselves at the expense of semi-barbarous tribes, and invoked against Napoleon the names of patriotism, liberty, and justice, for his analogous enterprises in more civilized regions. So varying are the



standards of political morality—(reminding one, Mr. Fox humorously remarked, of the lady who had been to the East, and who, accused of “indiscretions,” replied, “No, on my honour! never—on this side the Cape”)—and so hollow the pretences on which war is made when the garlanded figure of Victory beckons from beyond its scenes of desolation.

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## CHAPTER IV.

FAILURE OF THE ADDINGTON ADMINISTRATION—RESUMPTION OF POWER BY MR. PITT—THE CATHOLIC QUESTION—DEATH OF MR. PITT—“ALL THE TALENTS” IN OFFICE.

WE must hasten on, for events are fast thickening around us; and we must suffer the “plumed troop” of war to pass from field to field unnoticed while we dwell upon the nearer scenes of political and personal change. The first of these is the break-down of the Addington Administration. The nation felt that, whilst straining every nerve in the new conflict—with taxes rising to eighty millions a year—with 300,000 soldiers, and as many more extemporized warriors, armed for an apprehended exigence—while five hundred ships floated beneath her flag upon the seas—while an immense army was only waiting a favourable wind to descend upon her southern coasts; and the fortification of her capital, which, like Sparta, had not seen for centuries the smoke of an enemy’s camp, was being seriously debated—the country felt, that under circumstances thus awful and unprecedented, the indecision of her rulers must not be suffered to distract her councils and enfeeble her energies. All eyes turned instinctively to the great statesman, who sat, like a sullen Achilles, beside but not upon the seat of power. Even the King, whose antipathy to the Catholics was exceeded by his fear of Bonaparte, began to regret a minister whose name was a bulwark to his throne. Nor was Pitt himself unwilling to return to power. The mediocrity he had elevated, but could not ennoble, had ventured of late to disregard his directions, and even to retort his chidings. Of feebleness he was even more intolerant than of opposition; and when on the 15th of March, 1804, he severely censured, in a long and elaborate speech, the inefficient condition and conduct of the navy, though the formal motion for official returns with which he concluded was defeated by a majority of seventy, it was universally felt that he was about to resume his former power and position. The circumstance of his being supported by Fox and Sheridan, with the known anxiety of Lord Grenville for the conjunction

of the two great statesmen, led to the expectation of a coalition ministry. In a month Addington's majority had dwindled to thirty-five; and it was publicly announced that a change of ministry was only delayed by the illness of the King, whose sanity was again interrupted. In a few days his Majesty reappeared in public; but with his reason his obstinacy had also returned, and he refused the admission of Fox into the cabinet. To this Pitt had probably no great objection, wisely preferring to rule alone or not at all; but Grenville and Windham stood aloof. Dundas, as Lord Melville, attended his former chief; and Addington himself took the title of Lord Sidmouth and a seat in the cabinet shortly afterwards: Eldon had already begun to regard the Chancellor's seals as a private and prescriptive possession.

What then had become of the Catholic question? It had shared the fate of nearly all the questions that ever served a politician for a temporary purpose. It was quietly laid aside till the death of the King might permit its discussion to the minister. In vain his rival taunted him with forgetfulness of his pledge—he was content to reply that on the first opportunity for debating the subject in the next session, it should receive his advocacy, or be appeased with reasons for its postponement. The four millions of Irish Catholics, justly impatient of exclusion from parliament and some thirty-five public offices, and their English sympathizers, were bidden to wait the convenience of parties; or to hope from the accession of a monarch whom no one suspected of possessing a conscience, or of the effrontery to oppose the obligations of a pageant oath to the principles and policy of a party with which he had identified himself in the irresponsibility of his heirship. Prince Harry, the roystering companion of Falstaff, would turn out, it was confidently promised, the wise Henry the Fifth. So when the Catholics entrusted a petition to Fox in the session of 1805, his taunting allusion to the minister who had dashed the cup of possession from the lips of expectancy, could only provoke from Mr. Pitt an animated but ambiguous reply, a plea of delicate circumstances, and a further promise on the opportunities of another session.

But on him that session did not dawn, or only dawned upon him as a dying man. The dissolution of a frame worn out by hard work and fast living, was accelerated by the harassing defence of his old friend and colleague, Henry Dundas, whom he had elevated to the peerage as Lord Melville, and appointed First Lord of the Admiralty. For twenty years he had held the highly responsible office of Treasurer of the Navy, and rumour had for some time past impeached his integrity. A commission was appointed "to examine on oath, and to inquire into the abuses of the naval department." The tenth report of that commission furnished ample materials for an attack upon him by his political opponents, and demanded

the serious investigation of the friends of public morality. The subject was accordingly brought before the House of Commons, on the 8th of April, 1805, by Mr. Whitbread, in a speech remarkable for vehemence, even in those days of partisan bitterness. He concluded by a series of motions, reciting the various resolutions and enactments of the House forbidding the Treasurers of the Army and Navy to profit by the passage of public money through their hands; and affirming that Lord Melville had permitted his private and official secretary to use large sums of money for his lordship's private purposes. Beside the Whigs, the Addingtonians, and a party of about forty, stigmatised as "the saints," joined in the attack. Lord Henry Petty, George Canning, and William Huskisson—a group of young celebrities who must presently be introduced to the reader—also served their respective parties in assault or defence. Pitt opposed the resolutions with all the warmth of friendship and the indignation of conscious disinterestedness. But the force of evidence, or the coalition of parties, was too strong to be overcome. The House committed the rare impartiality of dividing equally—two hundred and sixteen on either side—and Mr. Abbott, who had succeeded Addington as Speaker, gave his casting vote for the resolutions. The next day Lord Melville resigned, and Mr. Pitt was compelled to advise the King to erase his name from the list of Privy Councillors, which was of course done. Violent debates followed. Whitbread and others were ordered to impeach Lord Melville for his malversations, as high crimes and misdemeanours, at the bar of the House of Lords; and a bill passed to prevent the defeat of justice by the prorogation or dissolution of Parliament. The Houses, however, were prorogued, and there the proceedings rested for the present.

Pitt—his health further broken by these labours, and his spirit wounded but not humbled by this unusual reverse—fled to the country for repose and restoration. But the ubiquitous perplexities and carking cares of office followed him. He could find no invigoration in the air that was heavy with tidings of Austerlitz and Trafalgar. The former victory had lain Austria once more prostrate before Napoleon—the latter was dearly purchased with the life of Nelson, the Napoleon of the seas. Darkness stretched to the horizon, and disasters crowded to the bedside of the dying statesman. The die on which he had staked his reputation and his power had failed. He perceived that he had sold himself for naught. The object for which he had armed the nations, and laden his country with a hopeless burden, was fast receding into an impossibility. Patriotism, or the self-delusion of it, wrung from him the exclamation, "O Heaven, save my country!" He returned to London in time for the re-opening of Parliament, but was unable to attend it—he lay adying in his house at Putney; and on the 23rd of January, 1806, he expired, in the forty-seventh year of his age: he was

not thirty when first appointed Prime Minister. On the 27th it was moved in the Commons, "that a humble address be presented to his Majesty, that he would be graciously pleased to direct that the remains of the late Right Hon. William Pitt be interred at the public expense, and that a monument be erected to his memory in the collegiate church of St. Peter's, Westminster, with an inscription expressive of the irreparable loss the nation has sustained by the death of so excellent a statesman." To the astonishment and disgust of his friends, that on so solemn an occasion the animosities of political life should be remembered, Fox and the Opposition, and even Windham, resisted the motion by speech and vote. It would have been far more amiable, no doubt, to have forgotten all but the lofty abilities and bearing of the departed—to have evaded every allusion but that of regret to the fierceness of political differences—but sterner duty demanded the refusal of monuments and eulogistic inscriptions to the recreant politician, the despot at home, and the champion of despotism abroad. The speeches delivered by Fox and Windham are the strongest warning that can be read to those statesmen who hope to gild over a disastrous policy by shining talents and a lofty personal carriage. The opponent and the colleague could not both be mistaken in their estimate of the man's character. His epitaph remains as they pronounced it. The cooler reflections of another generation have substantially confirmed the warm, passionate, but sagacious judgment of contemporaries kindred in mind and favoured with constant opportunities of observation. "One of the greatest statesmen, but the worst of ministers," is an apparently paradoxical but not an unfair decision on his claims to public honour. His brilliant abilities were prostituted to the service of a pride as pernicious to the interests of England and the human race as was the ambition or self-will of Napoleon. His eloquence was used, with only one exception, in defending or disguising despotism at home and abroad—indeed, he was never so eloquent as when about to introduce some new instrument of oppression, or stimulating to renewed conflicts. "Demosthenes," said his more Demosthenic opponent, without that irony which sometimes played on his good-natured features—"Demosthenes might have listened to him with delight, and perhaps with envy; but for myself I always tremble when he is most eloquent." His love of power engaged him in a conflict which his intellectual egotism first underrated, and then forbade him to abandon. His personal incorruptibleness did not prevent him from corrupting with a lavish hand, when corruption would serve his purposes; sixty-one peers did he create during his administration, and their degree of devotion to his arbitrariness may be judged from the infamous sentiment of one of his bishops (Horsley), that the people had nothing to do with the laws but to obey them. With all this it was impossible not to admire his scornful

indifference to the titles and wealth for which a contemptible herd were continually boring him; nor should it be forgotten that of the immense sums which passed through his hands, not a penny ever reached his pocket—a virtue, in that venal age, to extort praise from his rivals; but as to his contentment with poverty, it must be remembered that he was quite without objection to debt. Without wife or child, he contrived to die owing £40,000 to tradesmen. When his body had been interred in Westminster Abbey, it was felt absolutely necessary to discharge these bequests. His best friend—better not mentioned till in connexion with the work that has given him immortality—proposed to do this by a subscription; and drove from house to house to raise five hundred pounds from each of some sixty whom the dead and buried statesman had enriched. Save some rich city men, one only,—and he the thrifty, hardworking barrister, Spencer Perceval,—had the honour to save the demigod's name from the odium of a public debtor. And worse—a number of these noble and right honourable gentlemen who had clubbed £12,000 to relieve him when out of office, now claimed the repayment of their advances among his debts, and proposed to add them to the amount to be asked from parliament; but they had not the effrontery to move for more than the forty thousand pounds, which were voted unanimously. Even this exhibition of baseness was surpassed. The house in which the breathless body lay, was instantly deserted by friends and even attendants;—a gentleman going in found only a kitchen menial! We must repeat the hacknied, but never more appropriate lament, “*Sic gloria transit mundi!*”

“But yesterday the word of Cæsar might  
Have stood against the world: now lies he there,  
And none so poor to do him reverence.”

The first and inevitable result of Pitt's death was the destruction of his cabinet. Their retention of office in the face of the array of talent on the old opposition benches, and against the jealousy entertained of them by the Sidmouth clique, was quite impossible. The King assured Lord Hawkesbury of the royal support if he would attempt to reconstruct the ministry, but the honour was wisely declined. The favourite Sidmouth was next consulted; but he had been cured of the vanity of supposing he could rule alone. The Marquis of Wellesley had just arrived from India, and looked a likely premier; but he, too, begged to be excused. Grenville was at length sent for, as only less humiliating than a direct application to Fox, to whom the King's antipathy was inveterate. It was known that Lord Grenville and Mr. Windham were anxious to unite with Fox, Erskine, Sheridan, and Grey, in a ministry that had been designated by anticipation, “All the talents.” Lord Grenville at once admitted this to the King, and obtained

his consent to coalesce with the hated Whigs. Fox, not wishing, perhaps, to come in frequent contact with the royal presence, or fixing on the restoration of peace as his own special work as well as that of his ministry, handsomely waived his right to the Premiership, and took the post of Foreign Secretary. Lord Grenville was, therefore, First Lord of the Treasury. Windham was Colonial, and Earl Spencer Home Secretary. Erskine succeeded his old antagonist, Eldon, as Lord Chancellor. Mr. Grey, as Lord Howick, was First Lord of the Admiralty. Lord Henry Petty, though only twenty-six years of age, was Chancellor of the Exchequer. Sheridan was rewarded for his brilliant but rather unsteady services with the place of Treasurer to the Navy. Pigott and Romilly were respectively Attorney and Solicitor General. The Bedfords were, of course, to be provided for, and got the government of Ireland. Lord Sidmouth had to be made room for, if only as a court favourite, so was appointed Lord Privy Seal. His friend Ellenborough, for the same reason, was made Chief Justice, with a seat in the cabinet—which inauspicious combination of judicial and political functions, the Whig members of this motley ministry had to defend rather against their distinctive principles. Men of such great and varied abilities were never before united in office; but their differences were so radical and numerous as to render their long-continued harmony impossible. They represented three distinct parties. Fox and his friends were pledged by a public life-time to parliamentary reform, Catholic emancipation, the reduction of taxation, the abolition of the slave trade, and the restoration of peace. Grenville and Windham were the spokesmen of those aristocratic Whigs with whom the vigorous conduct and gainful conclusion of the war were then primary considerations. Sidmouth and Ellenborough had already gained the bad distinction of invincible repugnance to every measure of political or social amelioration. This unfortunate misalliance augmented what may be called the natural difficulties of the new ministry—that decline of popularity which is almost sure to follow the disappointments inevitably inflicted by the transference from opposition to office—and a war impossible to terminate in a moment, though protested against from its commencement. The head of gold, with breast of silver, and arms of brass, resting on feet of mingled iron and clay, soon shared the fate of all such heterogeneities—and would have done, even had not that golden head been stricken off by the hand of Death.

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## CHAPTER V

PROGRESS OF THE RESUMED WAR—FOX'S EARNEST BUT INEFFECTUAL PACIFIC EFFORTS—HIS DEATH—ABOLITION OF THE SLAVE-TRADE.

IT is now necessary to describe, as rapidly as is consistent with clearness, the prosecution of the war in which England and France had re-engaged. The hostile operations of the former commenced in the detention or capture of two hundred French and Dutch vessels; which Bonaparte retaliated by declaring ten thousand or more English travellers, then in his dominions, prisoners of war, on the pretext that many of them were in the militia. The Dutch army of occupation was marched upon Holland, to the instant affright of its then Viceroy, the Duke of Cambridge. Loans and contributions were levied on the Hanse Towns, and the Elbe and Weser, the approaches to Hamburg and Bremen, closed to British commerce; which our vessels returned by blockading the mouths of those rivers. Naples was invaded, on the ground of its friendship with England, and the importance of its ports. Spain, not being in the actual possession of the French, was not included in the declaration of war; but a fleet being known to be preparing in Ferrol for French service, an English force was sent to watch it, and four treasure-ships captured—a piece of sharp practice which excited severe remarks in Parliament. In April, 1805, the Czar Alexander and Gustavus of Sweden were induced to form a close alliance with England; and Francis of Austria, for some time hesitant, was thrown into the coalition in the following August, by the annexation of Genoa to France. Instantly, “the army of England”—as the hundred and fifty thousand men encamped along the Boulogne coast were termed—struck its tents, and marched, with the rapidity which anticipates and secures success, on the gathering forces of Austria. The Electors of Bavaria, Baden, and Wurtemberg, sided with the invaders. Prussia persisted in vacillating, temporizing neutrality. Notorious incapacity presided over the Austrian armies in the person of General Mack, and either cowardice or treachery prevailed among his subordinates. Driven across the Danube by Ney, one of Napoleon’s best generals, whole brigades surrendered without a shot; and at length, fairly enclosed within the heights of Ulm, Mack marched out his troops, on about the twelfth day after Napoleon had crossed the Rhine, only to deposit their arms and standards at the feet of an aide-de-camp. Bonaparte was once more on the undefended road to Vienna. The Emperor and court fled as he approached, and abandoned the ancient Schonbrunn to his use, besides

immense quantities of military stores, of which their own allies were much in want. In Moravia Francis raised another army, and, in conjunction with the Russians, who had then arrived under the personal command of their Czar, again hazarded his empire on the battle-field of Austerlitz [Dec. 2nd]. Hard-fought and long undecided, the day ended in one of Napoleon's most celebrated victories. The Russians retreated in unbroken masses, under cover of Cossack clouds, within the natural entrenchments of their icy clime; but the broken-spirited Francis opened negotiations which terminated in the treaty of Presburg [signed Dec. 26th]. By this humiliating treaty—a signal instance of retribution—Austria lost all she had gained by that of Campoformio. Venice, and her territories—still worse, Trieste, Austria's only seaport—were given up to France, besides the payment of a hundred and forty millions of francs. To her own constituent states—Bavaria and Wurtemberg—Austria was obliged to concede the rank of kingdoms, and to Baden of a grand duchy, to which their new master had raised them, in his affectation of king-making; besides the Tyrol, the bishopric of Passau, and other territories. The throne of the Cæsars, thus deprived of its oldest girdle fortresses, and cinctured instead with a complete belt of states subject to its modern rival, its humbled occupant was reduced formally to renounce the long-cherished title of Elective Emperor of Germany—the empire itself dividing into Austria and the Confederation of the Rhine; the latter constituted of twelve or fourteen states, with Napoleon for its “Protector.” While Napoleon was thus shattering one arm of the formidable coalition raised against him, its other arm, England and Sweden, had done nothing by land. Some six thousand English soldiers were sent—three months after Napoleon had marched for the Rhine!—to join twelve thousand Swedes, and as many Russians. This army, comparatively inconsiderable as it was, might have recovered Hanover and threatened Holland, thereby compelling Napoleon to divide his grand Germanic army, and seriously lessening his chances of success on the Danube. But one month was spent in trying to coax the court of Berlin into Antigallican decision—another in pacifying the impulsive Swede, who had grown restive at the delay, and quarrelled with Frederick of Prussia—and by the time Hanover was reached, Napoleon was returning in triumph to Paris. Nelson spent the summer in chasing the French admiral across the Atlantic and back, unable to engage him in fight, till he had cooped him, with his Spanish allies, into “Trafalgar's bay,” where that tremendous encounter took place [October 21st] which consummated our naval triumphs, culminated the popularity of a peculiarly national hero, and excited mingled emotions of unparalleled intensity in the public mind—emotions which still stir in the heart of every Englishman, however indifferent to patriotism or enamoured of peace.



Such was the balanced fortune of the war—similar to that sort of dead lock which brought about the armistice of Amiens; both parties victorious, but on different fields—when the death of Pitt bequeathed it to a successor who had all along censured its conduct as feeble, as well as protested against its commencement as unnecessary. Fox set himself at once to the noble but difficult task of pacification. He reckoned much on his personal influence with Napoleon and Talleyrand, and addressed to them such sentiments as were irresistible to his own philanthropic mind. But Napoleon was rapidly encrusting his great soul with selfishness, by indulging the lust of power even to the commission of atrocious cruelties; and Talleyrand was only too willing to correspond with one whose humanity might be imposed upon to the cost of his nation's interests. Napoleon—now Emperor of France and King of Italy—indeed had utterly lost that sympathy which he largely excited in England while identified, though only in name, with republicanism. His murder of the Duc d'Enghien—for that inhuman transaction cannot be more lightly designated—the mysterious deaths in the Temple prison (now succeeding to the horrible notoriety of the Bastille), of the brave General Pichegru and Captain Wright, the execution of the intrepid royalist Georges, and the banishment of the noble, Cato-like Moreau—these crimes, by which he cleared his way to the imperial dignity and absolute sovereignty, inflamed against him the moral sense of all parties and of all countries. Fox felt it a solemn obligation not to enlarge—even to procure peace—the dominions of an insatiable ambition and an unmitigated despotism. He sanctioned the measures of his colleagues for improving the military service and recruiting the finances; and betrayed not the slightest symptoms of fear while, in the true spirit of a peace-maker, he put up with a repetition of diplomatic tricks, any one of which would have justified, according to usage the instant rupture of negotiation. He repelled the temptation offered to the cupidity of a commercial nation in the proposal to exchange the Free Hanseatic Towns for Hanover; he would be no party to indemnification from the spoils of states with which he had waged no war. He kindled into indignation at the murder of Palm—a German bookseller, shot by a French court-martial, for the publication of papers offensive to the tyrant—and dictated sterner instructions to the British envoy, in treating with an enemy that seemed changing into a monster.

But a nearer enemy, and one that would admit of no negotiation, was about to strike the gifted and generous statesman. Death had carried off Burke and Pitt, and would now complete the great triumvirate. On the 15th of September—while the country was rejoicing over the battle of Maida, at which a handful of British troops first crossed bayonets with a French army, and pre-dated their successes in Spain—as the Tower guns

were announcing the capture of Buenos Ayres by an adventurous band—Fox died at Chiswick House, in the fifty-eighth year of his age. Parliament was not sitting, but his admiring colleagues laid him in Westminster Abbey, beside the monument to Chatham, and within a few feet of Chatham's son, who had so lately gone before. There they lay, side by side, peaceful at last as sleeping infants; and uttering to the world, in their involuntary union, a more eloquent homily on the mutations of humanity than had ever flowed from even their most eloquent lips. "Poor Fox dead! I am more affected by it than I thought I should be," was the remark of one, and, doubtless, the sentiment of most. Unlike his great antagonist, Fox was even more loved than admired. The affection of his followers exceeded their trust in his abilities, and survived the rupture of long-established friendships. "He is a man born to be loved," was the magnificent eulogy of Burke, after he had repudiated his principles and renounced his company. As in his eloquence he united, in the highest degree, declamation and argument—making the latter glow and coruscate with the fervor and brilliance of the former; and the two inseparable as the heat and sparkle of molten metal—so in his character he combined force and grandeur of intellect with the warmth and humour of a generous heart; the wisdom and dignity of the philosophic statesman with the simplicity and playfulness of a child. He scorned only dissimulation, and resented nothing but the oppression of the helpless. He espoused every interest of humanity—personal and political, civil and religious, at home and abroad—and came at length to be known throughout the wide world as the disinterested champion of the wronged, degraded, and suffering. He pleaded for peace, in the name of the peoples, when rulers were bent on war; nor did he cease to plead when the peoples were frenzied with a craven or a vain-glorious courage. He demanded popular representation, denounced religious disabilities, and defended trial by jury, through that dismal period when such fidelity to liberty incurred the anger of a king, and involved hopeless exclusion from the dignities to which he was entitled by Nature and accredited by his country. He declared for the abolition of the slave-trade at its first suggestion, and effected it when its chosen apostle distrusted his earnestness. Thus he approached the ideal of a statesman—as John Foster has finely shown—but, alas! the more to humiliate and distress us by his public errors and personal vices. On the latter, it is not needful here to dwell—unhappily, they are as notorious as his better reputation is spacious and enduring. But the former must be particularized, as their results will be hereafter seen. They were, his coalition with Lord North, whose policy he had long and justly opposed—his urging the *right* of the Prince of Wales to the Regency—and his silence on the Catholic question on taking office in 1806. These all sprang out of subordinating principle, though sincerely and earnestly held, to

personal ambition and party interests—a failing inherited and enlarged upon by his political descendants, without the veiling splendour of his genius or the apology of his period and position. He was one, take him all in all, of whom his party may justly be proud, and to whom his country has reason to be for ever admiring and grateful—grateful for great services rendered, greater evils resisted, and illustrious example bequeathed.

The crowning glory of Fox's life, and the single but sufficient achievement of his Ministry, was the abolition of the accursed slave trade. For twenty years it had been kept before Parliament and the country by the devoted and brilliant labours of William Wilberforce, and had received the advocacy, more or less earnest, of nearly every man of eminence in those times of political greatness. Burke, Fox, Pitt, Erskine, Windham, Sheridan, Grey, Granville, Canning—all lent it the splendour and the support of their abilities. It is difficult to decide to whom belongs the honour of first awakening to the atrocity and attempting the extinction of a traffic which we can scarcely realize as once an ordinary and respectable avocation. There seems to have been, as on several other occasions in the moral history of our race—the pregnant hint of a great, undiscovered spiritual law—a sort of simultaneous influence exerted on a number of independent minds, stimulating them to action while unconscious of sympathy, and presently attracting them from their isolation by a mutual affinity. While Granville Sharpe was testing the reality of the freedom conferred by contact with English soil, Mr. Ramsay was observing with horror the sufferings of negroes debarked under his eyes in the West Indian islands. A year or two later, Thomas Clarkson was writing his celebrated essay on "The Slave Trade." Mr. Wilberforce was then a young man of singular position and promise. Entering Parliament for Hull on attaining his majority in 1780, by virtue of his family property in the vicinity, he had been chosen for the great county of York for the eloquence with which he opposed the unpopular Coalition Ministry. The intimate associate of Pitt, and all the choice spirits, the fair and fashionable, of the period—possessed of pleasing manners and large property—endowed with every element, in short, of political success—he astonished the world by a sudden avowal of what are called Evangelical sentiments, which were just then rising into influence among the clergy, and creating a new element in society. In his public character his religion put forth some of its noblest manifestations. It diverted him from the pursuit of personal distinction—the vanity of intellect, "the last infirmity of noble minds"—to the solemn consecration of himself to the service of duty. He seems to have cast about him for an object specially worthy of his regenerated powers. Nor was he long in finding it. The humane horror he had felt as a schoolboy at the sufferings of bartered human beings, revived in full force when the subject was put before the man

as demanding more than his compassion. He considered his position, his powers, and the proportion they bore to the work to which he was invited; and after that serious deliberation which gives strength to earnestness, he accepted the arduous service. Not that at first sight its difficulties appeared. The Abolitionists sanguinely expected that the indignation which their first appeals had kindled in the public mind would be instantly reflected in the senate; and that a session or two would annihilate an iniquity which no one would dare to defend. More practised eyes discerned symptoms of opposition, which, when pointed out, rather disturbed than dispelled the pleasing hope. Wilberforce changed, however, his resolution of at once bringing the subject before Parliament—to the disappointment of his friends in the country, who had sent up some thirty petitions—and induced Pitt to “issue a summons to the Privy Council, to examine, as a board of trade, the state of our commercial relations with Africa.” A severe attack of sickness well-nigh cut short his honourable labours; and extorted a promise from Pitt, as to a dying friend, that he would appropriate to himself the work thus suddenly relinquished. Mr. Pitt, accordingly, communicated with the London Committee, and on the 22nd of April, 1788, moved a resolution pledging the House to a consideration of the slave-trade early in the following session, from which the representatives of slave-trading Liverpool alone dissented. One or two of his friends went on board a slave-ship then lying in the Thames!—a presence more difficult to realize to-day than a Danish pirate or a Roman galley—and came back with such a harrowing description of its narrow space compared with its destined cargo, that a bill was forthwith introduced, and carried within a few weeks, limiting the number of slaves to the number of tons burthen. The next year Wilberforce fairly got the subject before the House, and established his identification with it in the public mind. In a memorable speech of three hours and a half he addressed himself to the reason and feeling of his audience, with a force and pathos which many living can remember as peculiar to his oratory—disarming the hostility of particular interests by charging on the nation the slave-trade as a “national iniquity;” describing the slave-ship as “so much misery crowded into so little room; where the aggregate of suffering must be multiplied by every individual tale of woe;” disproving the alleged comforts of its miserable prisoners by an appeal to Death, as that “last witness, whose infallible testimony to their unutterable wrongs can neither be purchased nor repelled.” The opposition had so far gained strength as to defer the decision of the House upon the condemnatory resolutions then presented, till counsel had been heard and witnesses examined at the bar—which reasonable proposal served to protract the discussion till the close of the session. It was resumed in the next, and a motion carried for conducting the examination by a special committee. A general election intervened

between that and the session of 1791, and the French Revolution was filling the nation with tumultuous emotions. The opponents of all change openly extended their conservatism to the commerce they had before sustained only by indifference. The pigmies of the House made war upon its Titans from before and behind the Government benches ; and inflicted on them defeat, by a hundred and sixty-three to sixty-eight. The country was appealed to by the discouraged Abolitionists. Agitation was organized, and petitions everywhere got up. But accounts arrived that the Girondists had proclaimed themselves the friends of the black as well as of the white man, and that the negroes of St. Domingo had emancipated themselves by insurrection. The "good" King took alarm, and propelled it downwards. To excite "pity for poor Africans" was declared, justly enough, to be too much like arguing for "the rights of man," to be sanctioned by any loyal citizen — religion, property, and order, were more concerned in resisting Jacobinism than in suppressing the slave-trade. Pitt counselled postponement—the bishops and clergy hung back—and the hearty strength of the Abolitionist cause was, quite naturally, displaying its democratic sympathies. But Wilberforce would consent to no delay. His motion for immediate abolition, though supported with unsurpassed eloquence by Fox and Pitt, was defeated ; and he was obliged to consent to another, for gradual abolition, which was carried in the Commons, with an amendment changing the period of abolition from 1800 to 1796, but thrown over by the Lords. To support his friends in that House, Wilberforce moved in the Commons, early in 1793, for a further consideration of the subject ; but losing his motion by a majority of eight, the Lords dallied with witnesses through the whole session. In 1794 he carried in the Commons a bill to suppress the foreign trade—that is, the employment of British ships in conveying slaves to other than our own settlements. Through the next five years he was regularly beaten, by small majorities. The three following years he spent in privately urging the Addington Ministry to attempt a convention with the continental governments for the suppression of the trade, which the French ambassador, during the brief peace, assured him Bonaparte was willing to accomplish. Pitt returned to office with a resolution to atone for the comparative lukewarmness of his support during his last half-dozen years of power ; and the result was seen in a majority of one hundred and twenty-four to forty-nine for immediate abolition [May 30th, 1804]. But the Lords were still obstructive, and the bill was "hung up" till next session. As that approached, Pitt begged for the deferment of this, as one of the questions that might divide his now dwindling majorities. Wilberforce, as usual, conscientiously refused, and suffered an utterly unexpected and dispiriting defeat. Fox espoused the cause with all the warmth of his heart when he took office, and

engaged to silence the Prince of Wales, at least, of "all the Guelphs." Two bills were introduced—one in either House, to prevent miscarriage—for the suppression of the foreign slave-trade; and when they were safe, a resolution pledging the House to the main question was carried triumphantly in the Commons. Fox's death perilled the great cause once more; for in the next session the royal dukes resumed their opposition, and the peers, led on by Sidmouth and Eldon, threatened renewed resistance. But Lord Grenville was faithful and resolute, and the crisis of the struggle was over. A later stage of the measure—when it "came from the Lords"—was a complete ovation [February 23rd, 1807]. Sir Samuel Romilly closed his speech with an allusion which startled the House from its ordinary habits, and covered its subject with the blush of humility. "He entreated young members of Parliament to let this day's event be a lesson to them, how much the rewards of virtue exceeded those of ambition; and then contrasted the feelings of the Emperor of the French, in all his greatness, encircled with kings, with those of the honoured individual who would this day lay his head upon his pillow, and remember that the slave-trade was no more." Three cheers, such as seldom saluted the triumph of party, saluted the victorious philanthropist. Congratulations poured in from every quarter. Mackintosh wrote from the East Indies, whither he had gone as a judge, "To speak of fame and glory to Mr. Wilberforce would be to use language far beneath him; but he will surely consider the effect of his triumph on the fruitfulness of his example. Who knows whether the greater part of the benefit that he has conferred on the world (the greatest that any individual has had the means of conferring) may not be the encouraging example that the exertions of virtue may be crowned by such splendid success." "How wonderful are the ways of God!" ejaculates the pious subject of these well-deserved laudations, in allusion to the political changes which his own special work had survived and triumphed over—"how are we taught to trust not in man but in Him!" With no more appropriate reflection can we close this brief record of his great labours and glorious success.

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## CHAPTER VI.

THE CATHOLIC QUESTION—CABINET CHANGES—GENERAL ELECTION—PERCEVAL, CASTLEREAGH, HUSKINSON, AND CANNING—CAMPAIGNS PRECEDING THE TREATY OF TILSIT—BERLIN DECREES AND ORDERS IN COUNCIL.

THE Catholic question was fast gaining its reputation for cabinet-breaking—it had terminated, ostensibly at least, Pitt's lease of office; it was now about to destroy the Fox-Grenville ministry. The death of Fox only necessitated a general shifting of seats among the party, the last vacant being taken by his nephew, Lord Holland—a young nobleman who had well distinguished himself in about the worst House of Peers that ever sat. An appeal was made to the country by a general election, in the hope of strengthening the Liberal portion of the Cabinet, but without much effect. They had taken office, it seems, without any stipulation as to religious disabilities; intending to attempt their mitigation with or without the royal consent. They proceeded to govern Ireland in that spirit of impartiality which is the redeeming feature of Whig administrations; and excited that virulent hostility from the Protestant faction which it is their honour to have provoked. They even dared—as though unable to refrain from spoiling well-doing—to increase the grant to Maynooth. On the 5th of March [1807] Lord Howick moved for leave to bring in a bill for securing to all his Majesty's subjects the privilege of serving in the army or navy, without religious distinctions; for Parliament in 1793 had enacted the wretched anomaly, that while in Ireland Catholics might hold commissions under the rank of a general, in England they could hold no post but that of a private. The bill was read a first time, in spite of the opposition of Perceval; and the second reading fixed for that day week. Then Lord Howick requested a further postponement, and again the week after. It afterwards came out, that here the King interposed. Ministers offered to modify the measure, but liberty to do so was refused, and a written promise required never again to moot the Catholic question to his Majesty. The disgraceful condition was indignantly rejected—and, that the odium might rest in the right quarter, Grenville and his colleagues resolved not to resign, but to await a dismissal. And it came without delay. The bigoted tyrant who would suffer a ministry to proceed with a measure—as Grenville declared, without contradiction, the King had done with this; returning to them a draft of its provisions without comment or objection—who would have “turned down from his advisers one corner of the map of the empire,” for

all whose government they, and not he, were responsible—had no scruples in destroying the finest combination of statesmen and administrators ever beheld. They were all dismissed, except Sidmouth and Ellenborough. Nor could they regret to quit a service without freedom, and therefore without dignity. Erskine had the boldness, according to his own account, to tell the monarch he could never know another hour of tranquillity or comfort—but the ex-chancellor's vanity was at least equal to his courage and his love of place to that of principle: we have lived to see a larger edition of the character, and know its capabilities.

On the 25th of March the Ministers were dismissed. By the 31st the following, and other less important, appointments were announced—the Duke of Portland, First Lord of the Treasury; Lord Hawkesbury, Secretary for the Home Department; George Canning, Secretary for Foreign Affairs; Lord Castlereagh, Secretary for War and the Colonies; Spencer Perceval, Chancellor of the Exchequer; Lord Eldon, High Chancellor; and the Duke of Richmond, Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland. Lord Melville, having been acquitted by his peers, in the previous session, of the malpractices charged by the Commons, returned to the Privy Council. Henry Dundas was made President of the Board of Control, and George Rose supplanted poor Sheridan in the Treasurership of the Navy.

This precious compound of immobile mediocrity and purchased talent, was ostentatiously patronized by the Duke of Cumberland, in the name of his royal father. As Chancellor of the University of Dublin, he wrote to that body, urging petitions against the relief of the Catholics. The ducal premier wrote, in a similar capacity and in a similar strain, to the University of Oxford. Perceval went down to his constituents with boastful Protestantism on his lips. Wilberforce prostituted his influence with the religious public to the same intent, and set the non-political Christian Knowledge Society to scatter anti-papal tracts. The witty Harry Erskine, brother to the ex-Chancellor, wished Lord George Gordon were living, that he might have a place in the cabinet instead of the Tower. The gong thus struck, its *bruta fulmina* were soon resonant through the country. "No Popery" was shouted from every pulpit and press which bigotry could inspire or corruption command. Sapient corporations and parish officers scandalized democratic institutions by blurting forth the idiot cry. Charity boys and country louts chalked it upon dead walls, to be rewarded with money for gunpowder or beer. Parliament was dissolved [April, 1807]—though it had existed but seventeen weeks, and though the obsequious Commons refused, by a majority of forty-six, to censure the dismissal of the ministry whose distinctive measures they had approved—that a general, septennial election might consolidate this floating foam. Both parties outdid their former feats of bribery and intimidation in the struggle. Immense



sums were expended to retain or win seats. Wilberforce had resolved to resign York county, terrified at the expense, and was indebted for it to the zeal of his friends, who subscribed about forty thousand pounds, and spent eighteen thousand; two other candidates spending two hundred thousand. Tierney was unable to get a borough for ten thousand pounds. The new ministry gained greatly by the dissolution—as was certain from their unlimited command of crown influence and public money; and after one or two trials of strength, parliament was prorogued.

Before resuming that continuous view of military and naval operations which we have hitherto kept up, we may here pause to observe those new men who have now risen to be uppermost. Spencer Perceval was born in 1762, the second son of the Earl of Egmont. The landless scion of a poor house, he betook himself with great industry and considerable talent to the legal profession; and was so fortunate as to attract, by a pamphlet on the Warren Hastings case, the attention of Mr. Pitt, who was ever on the look-out to supply from the ranks of clever aspirants the dearth of ability among his aristocratic clients. He had first procured for him the deputy-recordership and then the representation of Northampton. His professions were those of staunch Conservative Protestantism, which soon commended him to the King, as those of Addington had done. He was successively Solicitor and Attorney General under Pitt and Addington, and was advanced to Lord Henry Petty's vacant chair, the Exchequer Chancellorship, on the downfall of the Fox administration; lured from his lucrative profession—which it was no trifle to a needy man to resign, while ministries were thus mutative—by the offer of the perpetual Chancellorship of Lancaster; which occasioned some sharp debates in parliament. His colleague, Lord Castlereagh, was seven years younger—an Irish nobleman, hotly patriotic in his youth, sitting in the Irish Commons for the county of Down; converted by governmental influence, and transferred to the British parliament; but sent back, as Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant, to effect the Union. He retained office, with Perceval, under Addington; but was less a Tory than either—participating Pitt's conviction of the necessity, for state purposes, of emancipating Catholicism; and sharing his arbitrary disposition while only copying his imperious manner: a second-rate despot, not without occasional "compunctious visitings." Jenkinson, younger son of the Earl of Liverpool, gained some distinction in the lower House before taking the seat vacated by the death of his brother. Huskisson held a subordinate office, recommended by his financial abilities, which he nourished by the free-trade doctrines on which he had begun to feed. But the unruly master-spirit of this ill-assorted company was George Canning. The son of a poor barrister, who died young, and of a mother who took to the stage for the support of herself and her fatherless son—whose devotion to her in after life, on his way

to, and from the heights of, celebrity, softens towards him the heart of every son, enhances the lustre of his genius, and seems to excuse the apostasy whose rewards were lavished by filial piety—George was befriended by a relation, and sent to Eton; where he outstripped all his competitors, immortalized a schoolboy journal (the "Microcosm") by condescending to edit it, and whence he sent his wit to herald his appearance among the "breed of noble spirits" on the Whig benches. From Eton he passed to Cambridge, and quickly thence to Lincoln's-inn. A seat was procured for him in the House, and—Sheridan's recruit decoyed by Pitt's prescient seductiveness—a place among the attachés of a system he had spent his first arrows in assailing. Genius is essentially democratic—Canning was, therefore, no lover of Toryism; but, like Bolingbroke and Pitt, only lent it his services to be rewarded with the sight of its wounds—to advance and virtually accomplish, at the last, with the exultant sense of liberation and self-consistency, the reform he had spent a life in retarding. Such is at once the recompense and the retribution of the men who sell their priceless powers for release from the dull duties of ordinary industry, and premature indulgence in the "pride of place"—to be for years resisting what they hope, as for immortality, to achieve; defending wrongs that would bury under them their reputations, did they not turn round in time to give the final blow.

The home policy of the new Ministry through 1807-8 was simply that of coercion and resistance. For the spirit of conciliation in which the Whigs had governed Ireland during their brief tenure of power, the dragoon rule of Sir Arthur Wellesley was substituted; that General being Chief Secretary, and procuring an enactment for disarming certain districts, shutting-up the inhabitants after sunset, and other curfew-like purpose. Foreign proceedings could not stagnate into indifference while Napoleon was one of their agents. We left that restless spirit in Vienna—we next find him in Berlin. No sooner was Prussia moved from her indecision, than she had bitterly to regret having hesitated so long or moved at all. The double battle of Auerstadt and Jena [Oct. 14, 1806], laid the empire of Frederick the Great at the feet of one who had studied his tactics to better purpose than his immediate descendants; and who seemed to take by right the sword that lay upon his tomb. It was from the Prussian capital that Napoleon issued that celebrated decree [Nov. 21, 1806] which threatened, seconded by the blind retaliation of our own rulers, to destroy or permanently enfeeble our commerce. In a few concise sentences he drew a cordon round the British Isles—excluded them from all intercourse with the nations of Europe. Not only all articles the produce or manufacture of England, or of her colonies, were declared contraband, but the property of British subjects lawful prize, and even their letters ordered to be detained and opened at the post-offices. The King of Prussia fled to the

fortress of Königsberg, to await the arrival of the Russian army that was mustering on the further side of the Vistula, the eastern frontier of Germany. Napoleon's eye was fixed on Poland. He had resolved to raise there, by the magic name of nationality, an army that would fight with the fury of vengeance and of hope. He summoned Kosciusko, who was living in France, to accompany his forces and confirm his assurances; but the veteran hero declined, mistrusting the sincerity of the autocrat who distributed crowns among his followers, in proportion to their obsequiousness, in the name of democracy. Notwithstanding, the Emperor, it is said, caused to be published a proclamation signed with the inspiring name of Kosciusko, to which thousands of Poles enthusiastically responded. The Russians were compelled by insurrection to evacuate Warsaw, and Napoleon entered that ancient capital of a free people amidst acclamations excited by the fancied sight of returning independence. The Grand Army crossed the Vistula, and a separate peace was made with the Elector of Saxony, that petty potentate receiving the coveted title of King [December, 1807]. The Russians, hoping to draw the enemy into their inhospitable clime in the depths of winter, feigned to retire; but halted, at the distance of a few days' march from Warsaw, on the plain of Pultusk, with the river Narw on one hand and the wood of Moszyn on the other; where [December 26th] so fierce a battle was fought that the French were obliged to put back, and winter in Warsaw and its suburbs, though the Emperor had boasted, in his bombastic bulletins that the war would terminate with the year. Meanwhile, the Sultan of Turkey having been detached from the Russo-English alliance by French diplomacy, and engaged in a war with the Czar—obliging the latter to keep an army on the Lower Danube—an English naval force was sent into the Dardanelles; whose celebrated batteries it succeeded in passing, but, after giving the Turks time to fortify Constantinople under the direction of French artillery science, repassed the straits;—a piece of folly followed by a worse, in the landing of an abortive expedition in Egypt, to prevent its surrender to the French. A descent on Copenhagen [July, 1807], was made on the simple principle—if we do not take possession of the Danish fleet, Bonaparte will. Secretly and promptly a military and marine force was prepared in our eastern-coast ports, and when it came in sight of Elsinore, our envoy coolly requested the surrender of the Danish fleet, on the undertaking that it should be returned at the close of the war; which being refused, Sir Arthur Wellesley landed with a small army on the island of Zetland; and, still unable to enforce his terms, Admiral Gambier bombarded the unfortunate city of Copenhagen. A large fleet, with immense military stores, was carried off. War was of course proclaimed against the nation, whose rulers had perpetrated this atrocious piece of buccaneering. The little island of Heligoland was captured, and, lying at the mouth of the

Elbe, became valuable as a sort of smuggler's cave, whence English goods might be passed into the continent. To return to the adverse French and Russians—the former were forced, by the gathering of their semi-barbarous foes, from their winter quarters into the frozen field; and on the 25th of January [1808], engaged in a terrible conflict, of dubious result. On the 8th of the next month, the fierce battle of Eylau ensued, in which snow, hail, and pitiless wind, seemed to join, with the Scythian impregnability of the Russians and the impetuous charge of their Prussian allies, to worst the French. Its effect was a courteous message from Bonaparte to Frederick, proposing a suspension of hostilities; and on the 19th, the Grand Army returned to its former line on the Vistula, to the unusual sound of a retreat. But by the month of June it had increased its numbers to the enormous sum of two hundred thousand men. Its tremendous artillery cannonaded the Russians from the field of Friesland over the river Aller, and thence to the further bank of the Niemen. Both parties had suffered severely, and wished for peace. A truce was agreed upon, and was followed by the celebrated interviews and treaty of Tilsit; a vast raft being constructed on the Niemen, the two armies drawn up on either side, and their commanders cozening each other in a private pavilion. When the leading features of the pacification had been arranged between Napoleon and Alexander, the unfortunate Frederick was permitted to join in their deliberations, to be outwitted by them both; not the fascinations of his beautiful and proud Queen could procure for him better terms from the bronzed Gallican. Frederick William was to retain about one-half of his former possessions, but all his principal fortresses and ports were to be held by the French till the general restoration of peace. Prussian Poland was declared a separate territory—but not an independent state; neither the promised Polish Republic nor a native dynasty was established by the power which might now have been suing for peace but for the bravery of Polish arms; it was to be called the Grand Duchy of Warsaw, and held by the King of Saxony. Russian Poland—the most impatient for liberty because the most oppressed, and therefore the most deluded—was left under the heel of the Czar, with an added portion from Prussia's share at the partition of 1772. The Turkish allies of “the grand nation” were disappointed. Nothing was to be sacrificed for the sake of an ally who could enforce nothing. The provinces which Peter the Great had taken from the Byzantine monarchs were *not* restored, as had been promised; and the hostility of England had been incurred for naught. Alexander had repeatedly requested subsidies and loans of the English Government without effect; and now his fleet was placed at the service of Napoleon, and his ports all subjected to the Berlin decree. Only Sweden remained faithful to us; and Gustavus, after displaying a valour and generalship worthy of his name, beating the French

at Stralsund, was obliged to succumb to vastly superior numbers and comparatively inexhaustible resources.

The Berlin decrees constitute an epoch in the war, and strikingly illustrate the ethics and economics of modern warfare, differing greatly from ancient from the greater extent of modern commerce. Mr. Fox had placed several hundred miles of French coast in a state of rigorous blockade—a measure unprecedented, because the adequate naval power had never before existed; but rather a vigorous use of than an innovation upon what are called the laws of war. If it did not suggest, it determined the adoption of that extraordinary attempt at proscribing a whole nation—and that a first-rate one—which is known as Napoleon's "continental system." By that policy, every avenue into Europe—that western coast of France and Spain which is washed by the Atlantic—the opposite shores laved by the Mediterranean—those other tongues of land that are parted by the stormy Adriatic—the inner seas from which the vast plains of Russia are accessible from the south or from the north—the maritime communities of Holland, Denmark, and the Germanic towns, the Venice and Genoa of the upper seas—all these were shut against whatever grew on soil over which the British sceptre waved, or had been touched by an industry that rivalled in the number of its hands the monsters of Hindoo mythology. The system would have broken down if left to itself. It damaged too many interests to be maintained without constant vigilance and severity. The inconvenience it inflicted, it was foreseen, would necessitate the establishment of a line of custom-houses and an army of officers stretching over every point where a bale of goods could be landed; involving an enormous expense—as inconvenience rose into privation, penalties would have to be invented; and every infliction would irritate to new disaffection. And thus it was. The ladies of Paris consented at first to dispense with West Indian sugar and coffee, drink an infusion of sloe-leaves for tea, and renovate faded ribbons; and were even pleased with the novelty. But the warmest of Napoleon's fair admirers soon began to tire of this, and the people of every country on the continent to miss English calico and cloth. Licenses were then found to be a source of profit to the imperial treasury, and a diversion of mercantile discontent. The privilege of importing prohibited merchandise was sold for large sums, while petty smugglers were punished with instant death. The Grand Army itself was thus clothed with great coats and shod with shoes made at Leeds and Northampton; the contractors clearing a handsome profit. The short-sightedness of the British Cabinet gave a semblance of justice, and a stimulated vigour to the system. By an Order in Council [January 7th, 1807] the vessels of *any* nation voyaging to French ports, without having previously touched at British ports, were to be warned off or taken as lawful prizes;—a principle which was enforced rather than

relieved by subsequent proclamations, and extended even to the drugs that were needed by the sick and wounded in foreign hospitals. The madness of nations—or rather, of their rulers; the curse of both—could go no further; it could only now rage at this height of its destructive delirium. There were not wanting men in the British Senate sagacious enough to foresee the issue, as well as bold to denounce the injustice, of this war on all the world. The Orders in Council were warmly debated in the session of 1807, but Ministers triumphed by immense majorities. On the one side it was argued,—“We are assailed in our most vital interests. To France and Germany it may be inconvenient to be deprived of our colonial produce and our home manufactures, but to us it is ruin. They can subsist upon their fields, dispense with oriental condiments, and content themselves with coarse substitutes for the finer fabrics of our looms. But with our trade our agriculture droops, unable to feed the millions that are now estranged from its labours. The United States already possesses half the number of our merchant ships, and will fetch and carry for the world in neutral bottoms.” To this it was replied,—“We are not justified by this assault on our interests to strike at states that may profit by our distress. The laws of trade will prove too strong for the decrees of despotism. And as to America, our vessels may carry thither the growth of every clime and the work of our own hands, to be re-imported into markets guarded against us;—forbid that traffic, and we make that growing power our most formidable foe.” The wisdom of these counsels was, unhappily, disregarded, and the truth of these predictions soon manifested. Napoleon awoke an element on which he had not calculated. Accustomed as he was to reckon with precision the number of men that could occupy a given territory, the force with which a grenadier column would strike an enemy’s rank, or the spot on which a bomb would fall—quite sensible, too, of the power of music to inflame the ardour of his legions, and of his hyperbolic bulletins to move the heart of France—he had forgotten those meaner forces which pervade society; that impatience of little privations and passive endurance, which is to ordinary minds what ideas of liberty and glory are to the heroic few—or even to the many for an occasion. Napoleon might trample with ruthless tyranny upon national and personal rights—cheat a generous country out of the privileges it had purchased with its noblest blood—drain away its youth year after year to be ploughed into foreign soil, and be reaped down with the sickle of red-handed Death—barter away the jewel of long-cherished independence too trustfully committed to his hands that he might crown a minion—liberate Holland and Italy from yokes they were shaking off only to bind on heavier—perpetrate acts of individual cruelty that add the cowardice of assassination to the guilt of wholesale homicide—and only the solitary protest of Madame de Staël, or the

indignant murmurs of German students, be heard from Paris to Berlin;—but let Napoleon abstract the comforting ingredients of modern civilization from the cup of life—he raises a personal enemy on every hearth, and excites an execration from every tea-drinking frau or tobacco-smoking burgher. The popularisers of political philosophy—the most barren of sciences apart from its moral relations—the indiscriminating eulogists of *laissez-faire* commerce, are accustomed to dwell on this fact with exulting emphasis. Napoleon—they exclaim—ran a career of conquest while he opposed squadron to squadron, and impelled columns of valiant Frenchmen upon the too-disciplined defenders of effete absolutisms; but when he laid his hand upon the springs of trade, he touched the ethereal laws of social organisation, and they crushed him in their resistless, retributory recoil. Stripped of this rhetorical disguise, only the mortifying fact remains, that self-interest, in its vulgarest, most material forms, is more powerful in the economy of human action than those nobler motives—the love of country and liberty, hatred of cruelty and oppression—which draw half their force from the heart, and half from the imagination; as trees and flowers are nourished both by soil and sun. The true moral of the chapter seems to be—that every assault on man's higher nature necessitates, ultimately, direct attack on his lower interests, which will instantly return the blow; trade and commerce avenging the violation of such nobler principles as liberty and justice; the earth, in the beautiful imagery of the apocalyptic seer helping the woman, absorbing in its dull bosom the floods thrown forth by her dragon foe.

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## CHAPTER VII.

A SCANDALOUS EPISODE; THE DUKE OF YORK AND MRS. CLARKE—PARLIAMENTARY REFORM—PERSONAL HOSTILITIES, AND DISSOLUTION OF THE MINISTRY—SIR FRANCIS BURDETT COMMITTED TO THE TOWER—THE PRINCE OF WALES PRINCE REGENT—PERCEVAL'S ASSASSINATION—LORD SIDMOUTH AND DISSENT.

PARLIAMENTARY and public attention was absorbed, through the session of 1809, by personalities of the most disgraceful character. The Duke of York, Commander-in-Chief, and second son of the King, had for a mistress one Mary Anne Clarke, a woman of low origin, but of remarkable personal attractions and cleverness. She transferred her intimacy from the Duke to a Colonel Wardle, who had become of late a hot Opposition partizan, and to whom she communicated particulars of the utmost promise to his political allies. On the 27th of January, the Colonel affirmed in the House that the Duke had permitted Mrs. Clarke to carry on a traffic in commissions and

promotions, and demanded a public inquiry; which the Duke's friends deemed it expedient to grant. Orators, newsmongers, and ballad-singers, made the most of the scandalous scenes which followed. Mrs. Clarke was examined at the bar of the House for several successive weeks—despite the efforts of Wilberforce, and other decorous senators, to get the matter referred to a select committee—displaying a shameless, witty impudence and theatrical grace, that drew continual applause and laughter from a mob of gentlemen, many of whom knew her too well. The defence set up was, that the Duke had weakly suffered his discreditable acquaintance to enrich herself and oblige her friends by the influence she exercised over him; but that he was far above the meanness of profiting by these transactions, and that, indeed, the promotions made were usually so meritorious that this Pompadour administration at the Horse Guards had been rather beneficial to the service than otherwise—which representation the House accepted by a majority of eighty-two. But the Duke resigned; and the disclosures made—Doctors of Divinity suing for bishoprics, and priests for preferment, at the feet of a courtesan; kissing her palm with coin—were felt by the party that had always religion, conscience, and morality, upon its lips, to be exceedingly damaging.

Hoping to profit by these exposures, the friends of parliamentary purification and reform brought forward several motions. Mr. Curwen, an old Whig member, introduced a bill for discouraging bribery, and imposing an oath of legitimate election on taking one's seat in the House. Aided by a charge against the ministry of compelling a member for a treasury borough to vote in favour of the Duke of York or to resign his seat, Mr. Curwen got his bill through its first stages unopposed, and had it virtually taken from him by the Tories, and passed in a mutilated form. Sir Francis Burdett determined to reproduce the whole question of reform; and submitted to the House a plan including the extension of the suffrage coequally with direct taxation, the distribution of representatives according to population, the restriction of voting to one day, and a return to the old constitutional practice of annual elections. After one or two abortive attempts, he got "a House" and a hearing on the 15th of June; and advocated his propositions in his best style. The lateness of the session served moderate reformers with an excuse for absence in the country; Ministers replied with disdainful brevity; and the House divided—fifteen for to seventy-four against.

The disastrous Walcheren expedition—the record of which belongs to another chapter—occasioned two events, in each of which the ludicrous and the painful mingle. Canning was Foreign Secretary—Castlereagh, Secretary at War; the unwise division of one function aggravated by the characteristic differences of the men. Canning threw all the blame of naval and



military failures on his colleague, and at length insisted to the premier on his dismissal; with which the poor old Duke promised to comply. Castlereagh, learning the particulars of his disgrace, corresponded with and challenged Canning. Duelling was not then abandoned to fools and cowards, or brainless bravadoes. The two statesmen met at Putney-heath, and fired twice. Canning was preparing for a third exchange of shots, when Castlereagh interposed with, "I believe the right honourable gentleman is wounded"—as indeed he was, in the thigh. This forcible rupture, with the secession of Huskisson, dissolved the Ministry; they all resigned, the Duke of Portland dying a few days after. The Duke's loss to his party was only that of a titled do-nothing; but Castlereagh could not well be spared, and Canning's trenchant tongue was worse than irreparable. Lord Liverpool and Mr. Perceval were reduced to the disagreeable necessity of inviting the Whig Lords, Grenville and Grey, into the cabinet, which invitation they at once refused. The fracas had taken place in September, and it was not till December that the Marquis of Wellesley was induced to take the Foreign Office, Perceval combining the offices of First Lord of the Treasury and Chancellor of the Exchequer: Lord Palmerston commenced his high career on a stool in the War Office of the new ministry—

"Lowliness is young ambition's ladder."

In the next session, an inquiry into the Walcheren expedition was demanded; but when the Ministers could no longer resist, they determined to clear the strangers' gallery of the House during the investigation. Whigs and Radicals alike protested against this, and Sheridan moved a modification of the standing order, indulging at the same time in a panegyric on the press, to which the eccentric Windham replied in a tirade against journals and journalists which outdid anything that the hottest Tory would have dared. There were in existence then, as now, numerous "little parliaments," debating clubs, in which the proceedings of the greater body were pretty freely discussed. In one of these, the British Forum, the president, Citizen Gale Jones, proposed as questions, whether the exclusion of the public from the Commons during the Walcheren inquiry was not an attack on the liberties of the people and of the press; and whether Mr. Yorke's motion for closing the gallery or Mr. Windham's speech was the greater outrage upon public feeling. This being placarded about the city, Mr. Yorke complained to the House of the breach of privilege involved, and the printer of the placards was called to the bar of the House, censured, and dismissed, on giving up the name of his employer. Mr. Gale Jones was himself brought to the bar the next day, and committed to Newgate. Of this on the 12th of March [1810], Sir F. Burdett complained, denying the right of the House and the legality of the commitment. His motion was rejected

by one hundred and fifty-three to fourteen. He printed his speech in "Cobbett's Weekly Register," using even bolder language than in the House, and prefixing a letter to his constituents of Westminster, in which he spoke of the Commons as "a part of our fellow-subjects collected together by means which it is not necessary to describe." So bold a libel the House could not overlook, and its author was ordered into the custody of the Sergeant-at-arms and confinement in the Tower. Sir Francis maintained his denial of the power of Parliament by refusing to surrender to its warrant, barricaded his house in Piccadilly, and actually held the messengers of the House at bay for some days. He wrote to the Sheriffs of Middlesex, appealing to them to protect his person and property from violence by a military force; to which Mr. Matthew Wood, who happened to be sheriff that year, responded, passing a night in the beleaguered dwelling, and threatening the magistrates with prosecution if any lives were lost by the weapons of the soldiers, with whom they had lined Piccadilly; a great crowd blocking up the thoroughfare, and raising shouts of "Burdett for ever" when, as frequently happened, the baronet appeared at the window. The Government, perplexed by this course, instructed the Serjeant to take the opinion of Sir Vicary Gibbs, the Attorney-General, which, when given, was worthless from its ambiguity and indecision; and so increased the embarrassment. Thus Friday and Saturday passed. On Sunday, great commotion and alarm prevailed, rumours spreading in the country that Piccadilly was ankle-deep in blood. On Monday morning, it was resolved to force an entrance, which was at length effected through a kitchen window. The baronet was found in the drawing-room, surrounded by a number of political and private friends, his son reading to them Magna Charta in the original! Yielding to force, he was conveyed to the Tower, by a detachment of Guards, who took him round the New-road, rather than fight a way through the City. As they returned, unhappily, they came in contact with the populace, fired, and wounded eight persons, two of them mortally. Sir Francis, from the Tower, served the Speaker with notice of action; and great meetings were held of the electors of Westminster and Middlesex in his support, who, with the livery of London, sent up petitions, that were rejected as libellous. The trial came on in the Court of King's Bench in the following February, and established the supreme authority of the Commons. Sir Francis had to remain in his fortress-prison till the prorogation of Parliament—when a great procession was formed to fetch him out; which honour he wisely avoided by boating it up the river.

A motion for Parliamentary reform, introduced by Mr. Brand, a Whig member—of so moderate a character as to gain a hundred and fifteen votes—and another, by Mr. Grattan, for Catholic emancipation, which had now become an annual subject of debate, are all that demand notice in this

session; which closed on the 21st of June. The Houses were prorogued to the 1st of November, on which day they met, and though not summoned for the despatch of business in the usual form, sat down with more than usual seriousness. For on the 25th of the preceding month, it had been announced that one of the three estates of the realm had suspended its functions. The poor old King—now groping in the gloom of almost total blindness—was again smitten with that worse malady which obscures the light of the soul, and deprives the senses at once of their highest uses and their master faculty. In the summer of 1809, the fiftieth anniversary of his accession to the throne had been celebrated throughout the kingdom with a unanimity and heartiness which showed that the homely virtues of the man were kindly suffered to shade the grievous and notorious faults of the monarch, but which contrasted painfully with the sadness and apprehension that were regnant in the palace. Besides the perennial grief of estranged and licentious sons, there was the approaching shadow of a calamity very differently complexioned—the King's youngest and best-beloved child, the Princess Amelia, was evidently adying. An affecting incident of her last days completed the derangement of the father's faculties. It could no longer be concealed that he was quite incompetent to even the perfunctory offices required of him. Parliament first betook itself to ascertaining the exact condition of the monarch, and the absolute necessity of superseding his functions and guarding his person. The Court physician predicted his Majesty's speedy recovery, and the Houses adjourned for a fortnight, *nem. con.* When they re-assembled, the physicians were still of the same opinion, and Ministers proposed another adjournment for the same period; to which the Lords assented, with some remarks from the Opposition, and the Commons upon a division. A third time, these predictions were confidently uttered, in a report by the Privy Council, and a third adjournment proposed. Lords Spencer, Holland, and Grenville, demanded a select committee to examine the physicians; but the amendment was negatived, the royal Dukes, York and Cambridge, voting with the Ministers, Clarence and Sussex with the Opposition. In the Commons, a similar amendment on the proposition for delay was rejected; and the Houses adjourned to the 15th of December. By that time, Ministers found themselves obliged to give way, and the committees were appointed. Their reports, presented in two or three days, confirmed that of the Privy Council, as to the opinion of medical authorities; but the Premier announced, at the same time, that he should move in a committee of the whole House a series of resolutions on the appointment of a regent. On the 20th, the resolutions were submitted, and the subject was fully gone into. The same relations were sustained by Ministers and Opposition as in 1788—when a regency was appointed, and the King suddenly recovered—but

with less decision ; as was natural from the degeneracy of the actors on either side. Perceval, like Pitt, maintained the prerogative of Parliament alone to provide for such an emergency—the Whigs and Radicals still asserted, though less stoutly, the doctrine of right in the Prince of Wales, which they had taken up from Fox's unhappy argumentative lapse. The latter party proposed to proceed by an address to the Prince, inviting him to assume the post to which his birth entitled him ; the former insisted on the usual procedure by bill, and based it on several resolutions, the chief of which restrained the Regent from bestowing peerages, except in a few specified cases—which was carried only by very narrow majorities ; and then with the provision that these restrictions should cease in one year. The Prince accepted the regency on these terms, though not without a complaint of the restrictions imposed on him ; and on February the 12th [1811] was formally installed at Carlton-house, taking, among other oaths, that against Popery, and delivering a certificate of his having received the sacrament of the Lord's Supper. Shortly after this ceremony, a grand celebration of this virtual accession to the throne was given, very gay and gorgeous—in a word, characteristic. A “clean sweep” had been apprehended by the Tories, and as eagerly anticipated by the Whigs—whence the delays interposed by the one party, and the zeal displayed by the other. The heir apparent had taken up with the latter, from the accident of their leaders being men of wit and pleasure. This their antagonists resented by putting upon him all the indignities the law permitted, aided by the alienation from his father which his scandalous practices produced. The Whigs, in return, by a disgraceful compact, made his cause their own ; and united on his behalf as though his name were synonymous with peace, reform, and toleration ; though it does not seem that he took the pains to deceive them into believing that he shared their opinions. But the men who had sullied their high renown by sanctioning the vices of his youth had died off—Sheridan almost alone remained at his board and “kept the table in a roar.” At the crisis just described, the Prince entrusted Lords Grey and Grenville with the composition of a paper, representing his views on the terms proposed to him. He showed it to Sheridan, who made such alterations as rendered it more satisfactory to the Prince. Grenville and Grey complained ; the Prince felt his new dignity affronted ; court intrigue was employed by the Tories, reluctant to retire ; the dreadful blow it would be to the old King should he awake and find a Whig ministry, served the tender son with an excuse for throwing over his old friends—and the Perceval clique, to their infinite relief, were assured they would not be dismissed. It was not long before the Whigs found in the injuries of the Regent's wife an appeal to their sympathies strong as had been that of her husband's disfavour by his father. Such are the incidence of hereditary monarchy and political parties !

The remainder of that session was spent in currency and Catholic debates. The Whigs, prompted by the financial genius of Francis Horner, the powerful oratory of Henry Brougham, and the practical philosophy of Lord King, perseveringly opposed the continued use of a paper currency, demanding a return to what they deemed the sounder system of metallic payments and intrinsic values. It was to them rather a recommendation than otherwise of this course, that its adoption would compel the abandonment of the war, which drained away vast sums of coined money, not only for the payment of armies, but also for the conduct of a contraband commerce. The debates on the Catholic question were rendered the more animating by the signs of change which were manifested. Canning was assuming his natural position in this great struggle. Released from the fetters of office, his eloquent tongue used its license to advocate, with an originality of argument and brilliancy of diction that riveted all ears, the abolition of religious disabilities; while he still forbore to press large concessions, under existing circumstances. O'Connell's stentorian voice was beginning to be uplifted in the land through which it has only lately ceased to echo. But the Ministry stood firm. They not only put back with the high hand of large majorities the motions brought forward by Lord Donoughmore in the Upper and Mr. Grattan in the Lower House; but the Irish Secretary, Mr. Wellesley Pole, proclaimed the convention which the Catholic Committee had summoned in Dublin an illegal assembly, and, the Committee persevering, five persons were apprehended—but the first trial, that of Dr. Sheridan, issuing against the Government, no further proceedings were taken till the first term of the next year [1812], when a Mr. Kirwan was found guilty of attending an illegal meeting, but discharged with a nominal fine. The debates were more spirited and protracted than ever, covering the first three months of the session; and decided by an anti-Catholic majority of only seventy-five. But both Ministerial and Opposition action was brought to a stand by a most melancholy event—the assassination of the Premier, Mr. Perceval, as he entered the House of Commons on the afternoon of Monday, May the 11th. The assassin, Bellingham, made no effort to escape, poor maniac as he must have been—but, with a savage despatch which sympathy for the unfortunate victim can by no means excuse, was tried and hanged within a week—despite the assurances of his counsel, that were time permitted to communicate with his friends at Liverpool, his lunacy would be indubitably established. A grant of fifty thousand pounds was made to Perceval's children, and an annuity of two thousand settled on his widow, with kindly unanimity; the Radicals, who could not approve such lavish generosity, quitting the House rather than oppose it. But the Tories are very grateful to their servants—at the nation's expense; and further monies were shortly afterwards voted for the ex-

Premier's son and his own commemoration. Changes rather important than extensive ensued. Castlereagh had previously returned to the Foreign Office, which the Marquis of Wellesley had quitted, impatient of serving with, much more under, Perceval. The Prince Regent had also made an effort, at the same time, to widen the Cabinet sufficiently for the admission of Grey and Grenville; which he intimated to them through his brother, the Duke of York, and received a flat refusal. They would not—however willing to take office—repeat the blunder which they had made, when aided by abler men, in compromising the only professions which could enlist for them popular support—especially as a new Court influence was at work, as dead against them as the first; an influence which statesmen can ambiguously declaim against, as almost too disgusting to be named, but which they seldom refuse to profit by. They were not asked again just yet. Lord Liverpool applied to Wellesley and Canning, but both declined. The Whigs took advantage of the crisis to carry, by a few votes, an address to the Regent for an efficient administration. May passed, and the Ministry resigned. Wellesley was authorized to form a Cabinet, and to include the Whigs if he pleased, but failed—on the household arrangements it was understood. The old Whig nobleman, Earl Moira, succeeded no better in an attempt at amalgamation. At length, it was settled that a new head should be put upon the old body—Liverpool take Perceval's premiership, Sidmouth come back to the Home, and Castlereagh keep the Foreign Secretaryship; Eldon, of course, be reassured in possession of the wool-sack; and Vansittart appointed Chancellor of the Exchequer. Among the inferior changes was that of Wellesley Pole for Mr. Robert Peel—"a promising young member," as old officials patronisingly pronounced.

Before returning to those scenes of sanguinary warfare and camp movement of which we have got in advance, one incident of the period must be recalled. It was in the session of 1811, that Lord Sidmouth, not then encumbered with the responsibility of office, made that outrageous assault upon the essential privileges of Nonconformists, which happily revealed to them their own strength. They had more than kept pace with the progress of the nation in material prosperity. Hall and Foster had shed upon their ministry a glory of intellect and eloquence which prelates could not but admire and envy, and which a large class of themselves could not appreciate—Andrew Fuller, and other popular polemicists, had aroused the intelligence of their middle classes—and hosts of men, able, and equal to their day and generation, were at work, unseen, upon the national mind. The labours of Wesley and Whitfield had created a mass of decided religiousness, alienated from the Establishment in fact, if not in conviction and feeling—and the influence of the Evangelical clergy tended to increase at least the apparent bulk and strength of orthodox Dissenters. Their missionary and

educational zeal quickened their general activity, and gave them a reputation for ardent Nonconformist propagandism which they rarely deserved and often disclaimed. They were a tolerated body—liberty of worship and instruction permitted, but many of the rights and all the honour of citizenship denied. The High Church party beheld, with undisguised grudging, even this degraded estate and curtailed freedom of Dissent. They had intended some such measure as that of Lord Sidmouth's in 1800, but Pitt, at the instigation of Wilberforce, discountenanced it. The existing state of the law was, in the words of Lord Sidmouth, "that any person, however depraved, however ignorant and illiterate, whether descending from a chimney or a pillory, if he appeared at the quarter sessions, and claimed to take the oath of allegiance to his sovereign, and that against Popery, and made the declaration provided by the 19th of George the Third [that of being Christians and Protestants, and of general belief in the scriptures], was entitled to, and could demand, a certificate, although there was no proof of his fitness to preach, or of his having any congregation requiring his ministerial service." The noble lord proposed to remedy this "scandalous licentiousness" by restricting the license to ministers of actual, separate, registered congregations; or to persons who should be recommended by at least six householders belonging to some such congregation. A storm of opposition almost immediately arose. Every denomination of Dissenters joined in petition and remonstrance. When the second reading was proposed, Lords Grey and Stanhope urged postponement. The opposition so increased with every day's delay, that Lord Liverpool counselled withdrawal; and, as Lord Sidmouth was obstinate, 500 petitions were presented—one of them signed by four thousand persons. Lord Erskine moved that the bill be read that day six months; and, supported by the whole strength of the Whigs—while the Government and bishops could not, in the face of such resistance, press a measure which they pretended was for the increased respectability of Dissent—the amendment was carried. Such, in brief, was the happy issue of the struggle into which Nonconformity was dragged; and the awakening of that spirit which, though it relapsed into indolent quietude with the many, animated a few to aggressive action and positive triumph.

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## CHAPTER VIII.

THE PENINSULAR WAR—PORTUGAL INVAD—THE CONVENTION OF CINTRA—SIR JOHN MOORE'S SPANISH EXPEDITION—WAR WITH AUSTRIA—THE CAMPAIGN OF ASPERN AND WAGRAM—WELLESLEY CAPTURES OPORTO AND CONQUERS AT TALAVERA—NAPOLEON'S MARRIAGE—TORRES VEDRAS—THE CAMPAIGNS OF VITTORIA AND THE PYRENEES—INVASION OF FRANCE.

"It is the beginning of the end!" exclaimed Talleyrand—the putative author of innumerable such phrases—as he retired, disregarded and disgraced, from the presence of his imperious master, whom he had been attempting to dissuade from that usurpation of sovereignty in the Peninsula which led directly to his downfall. Happily, we *have* reached "the beginning of the end." That colossal structure, whose rapid erection, as by the successive strokes of an enchanter's wand, we have witnessed, is about to topple in ruins upon its architect. "Vaulting ambition" hath "o'erleaped itself," and will "fall on the other side." The phantom of universal empire, smitten on the seas soon as evoked, but still stretching from the Pillars of Hercules to the icy frontiers of Russia, is about to vanish at the height of its delusive glory—to exhale among the mountains of Spain, and in the smoke of Moscow. The legions that we have seen advance from victory to victory, with scarcely a repulse, we shall now see, confronted by a sturdier valour, and baffled by a Fabian genius, rolled back over the Pyrenees, pressed by exultant victors to their own capital, and melting from beneath the chieftain whom they had lifted on their bucklers to an unparalleled eminence of fame and power. With the map of Europe beside us—and without such aid the operations of military genius are unintelligible, and battles but the unconnected outbursts of physical strength—let our glance pass rapidly over the mountains of desolation that yet intercept the sight of heaven-descending Peace.

"The house of Braganza has ceased to reign in Europe," was the premature announcement of the French "Moniteur," the organ of so many and such varied forms of government. Napoleon, since that point in his career at which we left him, had changed Holland into a monarchy, and conferred its crown upon his brother Louis. His brother Joseph he had made King of Naples and Sicily. The kingdom of Etruria—one of his own creations—he had reduced and divided into three departments of France. The Pope he had visited with his displeasure, because the ports of the Papal States were open to British commerce, and—asserting that, as Charlemagne's successor, he had a right to resume Charlemagne's grants—added the Marches to his own kingdom of Italy. Hesse-Cassel, Brunswick, and a part of Hanover,



he had constituted into the kingdom of Westphalia, and given its sovereignty to the youngest of his family, the scapegrace Jerome. But he had relatives yet uncrowned, beside the staunchly-republican Lucien, who continually bearded him; and Portugal and Spain invited his conquest by the weakness of their governments. That of the latter was in the hands of the adventurer Godoy, who had risen from the rank of a private in the guard to infamous intimacy with the Queen, the mastership of the enervated and dishonoured Charles, and deadly rivalry with the Crown Prince Ferdinand. No sooner was war declared against Portugal, on the ground of her alliance with England, than thirty thousand men were marched, under the command of Junot, through Spain—in accordance with a treaty signed at Fontainebleau, October the 9th, 1809—upon Lisbon, which surrendered at their approach; John, Prince Regent of Portugal (who had enjoyed the regal titles and powers since 1799), fleeing to Brazil, his South American dominions. The same army, in its passage through Spain, took care to possess itself of Barcelona, Pamplona, and St. Sebastian, the frontier fortresses on the south of the Pyrenees. This alarmed the Spanish court and people. Insurrection broke out, Godoy was imprisoned, and Ferdinand proclaimed King in the place of his imbecile father. Napoleon invited the whole family to meet him at Bayonne; which the King and Queen did, but Ferdinand hesitated. At length he was decoyed across the frontier, stigmatized by the old King as a usurper, bullied by Bonaparte into abdication [May 6, 1810], and put into confinement. Charles made over all his rights as King of "Spain and the Indies," to "his friend and ally the Emperor of the French," who again committed them to his "dearly beloved brother Joseph," conferring the kingship of Naples and Sicily on his brother-in-law and best dragoon general, Joachim Murat.

On the 20th of July, Joseph entered the capital of his new kingdom, surrounded by French and Italian troops. But the Spanish blood was up. In every town the populace were slaying those who were suspected of favouring the foreigners—the country people were arming—and, to concentrate the patriotic fervour, a provisional government, under the title of Supreme Junta, was established at Seville. The commanders of the army and militia adhered to the popular cause, and the Spaniards that were serving under the banners of Napoleon in Portugal, and the yet more ungenial Baltic, hastened to slip back to their native soil and service. But altogether not fifty thousand soldiers could be mustered, while the French had seventy thousand; and what was worse, the patriotic dons, whether in the Junta or the army, were as conceited and blundering as the people were by turns cowardly and ferocious. In the first pitched battle, the Spaniards were completely beaten; but eighteen thousand Frenchmen who had penetrated into Andalusia, were surrounded and compelled to capitulate. Joseph and

his army fell back from Madrid to Vittoria, on the further side of the Ebro, ready to recross the frontier; and the siege of Zaragoza, whose defence has given celebrity to one of its black-eyed maidens, was precipitately raised.

But not so easily was Spain to be delivered. As many as the national vanity had not blinded, turned their eyes to Britain for assistance. But the aid it was determined to render her was first to be given to Portugal, which had also risen against the French, a patriotic Junta sitting at Oporto. Sir Arthur Wellesley was taken from his prætorship in Ireland for the welcome chance of adding to his Indian trophies the laurels to be gathered under the milder skies of Southern Europe. He landed on the northern coast of Portugal on the 1st of August, with about ten thousand men, while Marshal Junot held Lisbon and its approaches with fourteen thousand, to which number the British forces were soon augmented. Sir Arthur marched down upon Lisbon, driving back the forces sent to oppose him, and continued his progress to Vimeiro; at which critical moment Sir Harry Burrard arrived to take the command, and he again was presently superseded by Sir Hugh Dalrymple. Sir Harry was consulted on shipboard by General Wellesley, and the latter was forbidden to advance; but Junot attacking him [21st August], he was compelled to fight. The French were routed, and might have been annihilated, had not Sir Arthur interposed with the veto of over-cautious senility; refused to advance on the undefended capital; and consented, with Sir Hugh Dalrymple, to the "convention of Cintra," by which the French were allowed to evacuate the country when they might have been taken prisoners to a man—for which the incapables were subjected at home to an investigation, and loaded with popular odium. Sir Arthur, indignant, returned to his Dublin Castle.

Sir John Moore had been appointed, in the interim, to the command of an army for the liberation of Spain. With the twenty thousand men that had been employed in Portugal, he marched over that country into the northern provinces of Spain, having orders to co-operate with the native armies there. He reached Salamanca in the middle of November; but found the armies he was to aid invisible, the people slinking back into quiescence, and both the arms and dollars sent them melted away. Sir David Baird had been despatched with ten thousand men to join him; but lay a fortnight at Corunna in his transport ships, waiting permission from the Central Junta to land!—which permission one wonders he did not take. Napoleon in person was descending upon the unfortunate general down the Pyrenees—about, as he told the world, with his usual magniloquence, to drive the hideous English leopards into the sea, and plant the French eagles on the towers of Lisbon. With seventy thousand men at his heels, the boast was safe. Dashing the vainglorious Spaniards before him, and bearing his brother on his wings, he was in Madrid by the 2nd of December, and

thence started to the north-west in pursuit of Moore; on whom he bore down in four divisions—each equal to his own army—and by as many routes. Moore's disastrous retreat to Corunna, heroic defence, death, and burial, are among the universally known and most dearly-treasured passages of our national history, commemorated by historian, sculptor, painter, and poet. While the disastrous tidings were yet fresh, Canning signed, in the name of England, with a proud consciousness of her indomitable prowess in a better cause than had yet enlisted her arms, a definitive treaty of alliance with the Supreme Junta, on behalf of the Spanish people [January 14th, 1809].

Napoleon was recalled from this hunt upon the mountains, by the news that the Austrian cabinet had again been stimulated into war by English subsidies, and the swelling notes of Teutonic indignation. We will follow his rapid march upon the capital that had twice or thrice before received him as a conqueror, that we may be prepared for the result of nearer operations. Austria, with exhaustive energy, drew into the field four hundred thousand men, and divided the command of them between the Archdukes Charles and John—the former, in Germany; the latter, in Italy. The victory of Eckmühl broke the Austrian line, and by the 12th of May, Napoleon was again in Vienna; the Archduke rallying his forces on the left bank of the Danube. The river was crossed, and the battle of Aspern fought on the 21st, rather to the discomfiture of the French. Not till the 6th of July did the hostile armies confront each other again—and then in that tremendous encounter at Wagram which defeated without destroying the Austrians. The generals would have maintained the field, but the court consented to a peace which verged on a dismemberment of the empire. Napoleon addressed the leaders of the Hungarian nation, from the palace of Schonbrunn, offering them independence of the House of Hapsburg; but evoked no response. Territory inhabited by a population of two and a half millions was surrendered; seventy-five million francs were paid as indemnity for the expenses of the war; and the brave mountaineers of the Tyrol, who had been induced to fight in their fastnesses for a dynasty that could inspire no loyalty but under the guise of patriotism, were abandoned—their heroic leader, Hofer, being seized and shot; leaving a name that couples with that of William Tell. Austria would, perhaps, have been systematically subjected, as well as despoiled and degraded; were it not that there were rumours of an English armada scudding between the Downs and the Belgic coast; whence the scarlet-coated legions that were no longer despised might descend to bar the conqueror's return to his own capital. Had Napoleon known how the English people permitted the thunderbolts of their strength to be placed by royal favouritism in the hands of amiable incapability, he would have had no such appre-

hensions. Forty thousand soldiers, afloat in four hundred transports, convoyed by two hundred and fifty men of war, were indeed an armament which the master of the continent might both envy and dread. But its command was given to the Earl of Chatham—a courtier, with nothing of his father or brother but their name. He set sail for Flushing on the 26th of July, debarked on the island of Walcheren, declined to go up and strike a sudden, overwhelming blow at Antwerp, dallied about till every fortress was trebly fortified, half his men ill of the fever, and Bernadotte advancing with all the troops he could collect—then, with eight thousand sick and many dead, destroying what he should have kept, he brought back his diminished, dispirited host, having scarcely seen a foe! Such was the Walcheren expedition.

A petty war had been waged meanwhile on the coasts and islands of the Adriatic and Mediterranean. But it was to the Peninsula that all eyes were turned with a solicitude mounting into the eager expectation of unparalleled success—for the belligerent spirit of England had now become as military as that of France. Sir Arthur Wellesley was appointed, in March, to the supreme command in Portugal, and on the 25th of April landed at Lisbon. Soult, left by the Emperor to conduct the war, had descended from Corunna—one of the northern points of that Spanish mountain-land which overlaps Portugal—upon Ferrol, Braga, and Oporto. Saragoza had been retaken, and the towns were apparently settling into submission, though bands of armed peasants still lurked in every vine-covered ravine of the hill country. Sir Arthur took the field with twenty-five thousand men, and on the 11th of May appeared on the southern bank of the Douro, opposite to the beautiful city of Oporto. By a bold and sudden attack, the French were dislodged, and driven down the road to the frontier; along which they had meant to pass quietly, in order to fall back on Joseph's army of occupation. But Wellesley sent a detachment to cross the Douro higher up, and thus intercept the retreating enemy; which was successfully accomplished, obliging Soult to disappear for a time from the highway, and re-tread, in miserable plight, the rugged track along which he had exultantly pursued poor Moore. The armies of the Junta were not in the way when wanted, or Soult would never have rejoined his friends. As it was, the British columns crossed the frontier on the 2nd of July—leaving not a French soldier in Portugal; and, on the 22nd, encountered, at Talavera, the vanguard of Victor's army; while Sir Robert Wilson hastened, by forced marches, on the capital itself, which sent forth even its garrison to sustain the masses that were falling back from Talavera. There, all night, till noon of the next day [27th and 28th of July], on the opposite slopes of two hills, parted by a rill of water, the storm of battle raged—the men pausing for an hour, beneath the meridian heat, to drink at

that stream, and, the better instincts of their nature recovering for a moment the ascendancy, to shake hands across the brook that would presently be again coloured with their blood ; while military genius sat personified in the British General, on the top of the eminence possessed by his troops. The losses of the French, both in men and arms, were reported to be very great ; and Wellesley was rewarded, when the news reached home, with the titles of " Baron Douro of Wellesley, and Viscount Wellington of Talavera." But, less adequately supported than his antagonist by the home government, he placed his army in cantonment for the rest of the year ; while the warriors of Aspern and Wagram came marching on, through the autumn and winter, confident of finishing the war at one blow. Napoleon himself would have followed, but he was keeping his nuptials with the Austrian princess, for whom—in that impatience to possess offspring which is intensified by the possession of power, intellect, and fame—he had resolved, though in sincere bitterness of heart, to sacrifice the still beloved Josephine, the wife of his adventurous youth, and the grace of his soldier-court. He made the sacrifice, and was gratified in his desire. A son, crowned in his cradle King of Rome, promised stability to the empire that had risen on earth as a meteor rises in the sky—but that nevertheless was to pass away, and leave no throne to the heir of the great king-maker ; yea, himself destined to fret away upon a rock, the remnant of a life unparalleled for the grandeur and the perversion of its powers.

Soult was re-appointed in the absence of the Emperor to the supreme command of the Peninsular forces. He crossed the mountains of Sierra Morena, subdued Andalusia, quartered at Seville, and, continuing his progress from the Pyrenees to the southern point of the Peninsula, blockaded Cadiz—to which city the provisional government had removed, and summoned the Cortes ; the more democratic composition of which, many of its members republican citizens of Cadiz and other large towns, infused greater vigour and a new spirit into the war, which had hitherto been waged more at the instigation of priests than from the inspirations of patriotism. The blockade was commenced in February, 1810, and continued till the middle of 1812, the city being well defended by British and native garrisons ; and its communications with other ports maintained by the ships in its splendid harbour. On every Moorish monument of the surrounding towns, the ensigns of French supremacy were elevated ; but the natural fastnesses swarmed with men whom the old Moorish blood still made impatient of subjection to the conquerors of a country on which their fathers had left the marks of dominion. To Massena and Ney were given an army in the north, which in August invested Ciudad Rodrigo and captured Almeida—two strong places on either side of the Portuguese frontier. Their approach, with a force more than double his own, compelled Wellington to begin that

celebrated retreat which, loudly condemned at the time as over-cautious, if not cowardly, gained for him by its success the highest reputation for military foresight and sagacity. He halted in September on "grim Busaco's iron ridge;" and on the 27th gave the French a repulse which the exultant fierceness of their attack made severe and dispiriting. The very next day he resumed his retrogression, and within a week his army was entrenched within "the lines of Torres Vedras"—on which celebrated defences we must bestow an explanatory sentence or two.—Behind Lisbon, twenty or thirty miles, run two chains of hills, descending on one side to the sea, on the other to the mouth of the Tagus. Along the outermost ridge, a thick wall was carried, with towers—or rather castles—at short distances, on which artillery was mounted, front and flank, covering every road and rill and footpath: wherever a mule or mountaineer could climb, cannon looked down. On the inner side a road was levelled, along which even horse artillery could pass with facility; and mines were scooped out, that, should an entrance be effected, the retreating forces might inflict a fate one shudders to name. This line of defence was twenty-nine miles long. But within it, a second was constructed, at the distance of three or four, in some places of eight or ten miles, and stronger in proportion to its lesser sweep. Nor was that deemed sufficient. Around the city, so as to cover a retreat to the ships and boats which floated in the bay, was a third line. Never had nature, art, and industry, so combined to render a position impregnable. British artillery officers, with an army of eight or ten thousand labourers, had been occupied in the construction of this vast fortress, during a whole year, with the utmost possible secrecy. When the allied army entered—driving before them, with a severity which was merciful compared to the fate which must otherwise have overtaken them, the population of every town and village, with all the provisions they could collect—the wet season had set in, as Wellington wished, and the rivers, narrowed by the engineering of his officers, were flooding with augmented volume the subjacent country. Such was the scene of desolation through which Massena's army had to wade, and such the Titanic structure which confronted him, as he neared the city on which he had promised the Emperor to plant his eagles in three months. He surveyed the lines from end to end, searching for a spot which the confidence of extraordinary precaution might have left comparatively weak—and fell back in despair. Privation, inactivity, and swamps, struck his army with sickness, and though he withdrew them to better ground, their sufferings continued through the winter. In January (1811) Soult moved up to the aid of his distressed coadjutor, and besieged Badajoz on his way. Wellington also emerged from his comfortable cantonments in pursuit of Massena, and would have relieved Badajoz, but for its precipitate surrender. Unequal in the field, he remained in Portugal the

whole year, his lieutenants recovering Almeida, and gaining the battles of Barossa and Albuera. The next year opened with the storming of Ciudad Rodrigo and Badajoz, with scenes of horrible slaughter and infuriated valour which remind one of the sieges of Syracuse and Jerusalem, before gunpowder had lessened by concentrating the havoc of war. Breaking down the bridge of boats and protecting fortresses which united the north and south banks of the Tagus, and the armies of Marmont and Soult—the latter having again fallen back to Seville, and the former superseded Massena—the British commander out-maneuvred Marmont, and overthrew him in the sanguinary battle of Salamanca (July 22nd), compelling a flight rather than retreat on Valladolid, from which the victor advanced to Madrid. King Joseph fled to Toledo, and Soult abandoned Cadiz, its garrison smiting his rear, even to Seville, which was taken by assault; while British divisions covered all the roads from the south to the capital. But it was impossible to remain in Madrid, a hundred and twenty thousand men converging upon it. Wellington, therefore, again marched northward, sat down in the town of Burgos, and spent a month in the unsuccessful siege of its citadel; then withdrew his reserves from Madrid, and with difficulty regained his frontier winter cantonments. In the spring of 1813, he was in the field with thirty thousand British and as many Portuguese, and invested by the Cortes with that absolute command which should long before have been conferred. Dividing his army into three columns, he suddenly concentrated them on the French at Vittoria, and there inflicted that overwhelming defeat which virtually finished the war; Joseph, and his commander-in-chief, Jourdan—for Soult had gone to a field where his great military talents were even more needed—fled in despair, abandoning everything, to the King's travelling carriage and the Marshal's baton; which latter Wellington sent to England, and was rewarded in return with a similar symbol of military distinction. The Navarre mountains and fortresses were reached and abandoned by the panic-stricken fugitives, and from the descending slopes of the Pyrenees Wellington looked down upon the plains of France; while his lieutenants stormed Pamplona and St. Sebastian, the only places in which garrisons remained. Soult was despatched in hot haste from the side of his master, armed for the emergency with powers never before delegated, defended for a fortnight the passes of the Pyrenees with spirit and skill only less than those of his antagonist, and was driven back in November to entrenchments under the walls of Bayonne. There he remained while Wellington rested his forces till February (1814), when he was again attacked, and driven on to Bordeaux, the authorities of that old nest of royalists hastening to hoist the white flag, and proclaim Louis the Eighteenth. By the 10th of April, the Garonne had been crossed, spite of its deep, rapid flow, and of Soult's defences; and the battle of Toulouse—fought on the Easter Sunday—

stopped the career of the victors by leaving them no longer an enemy to encounter. The Bourbons were restored—Ferdinand to Spain and Louis to France—by what other roads than this bloody upward track, along which we have followed Wellington, we may now observe.

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## CHAPTER IX.

THE REVOLT OF THE KINGS—CAMPAIGN OF MOSCOW—BERLIN, DRESDEN, AND LEIPZIG EVACUATED AND RETAKEN—ONE MORE COALITION—CAMPAIGN OF LEIPZIG—MARCH UPON PARIS—ABDICATION OF NAPOLEON—ELBA AND THE HOLY ALLIANCE—THE HUNDRED DAYS AND WATERLOO—THE AMERICAN WAR—UNIVERSAL PEACE.

It was in the spring of 1810 that the Emperor of France allied himself with the youngest daughter of the Cæsars; and added, as he supposed, the ties of relationship to those which bound Austria, still one of the great powers of Europe, to his throne. He was soon to learn from experience what his profound observation must have taught him, and what became one of the bitterest ingredients of his humiliation—the weakness of natural relationships and personal attachments compared with political motives in the minds of those who are accustomed to hear and entertain only reasons of State. Francis surrendered his daughter, amidst the murmurs of his people, to the embraces of his victor, contented that he thereby conciliated him and gained for her a throne—though its last occupant, her aunt, had gone thence to a prison and a scaffold. Napoleon was to find the kinsmen on whom he had conferred crowns, the first to peril his dominions and desert his side. Louis Bonaparte, King of Holland, had remonstrated from the beginning, as the head of a people all whose interests were commercial, against that “continental system” which his brother was obstinate in enforcing. Taunts of ingratitude and menaces of chastisement were the natural rejoinder. But they were met with unexpected spirit—Louis declared he would not be the instrument of ruining an industrious people; and actually (on the 1st of July) abdicated, fleeing into Bohemia, with all his children, except that Louis Napoleon, then an infant, who now reigns in France under the shadow of his uncle’s name, to whose compassionate care he was commended. Napoleon replied with the proclamation, “Holland is united to France.” Bernadotte had exchanged the baton of a French marshal for the sceptre of Sweden—elected by the feeble successor of the unfortunate Gustavus, who had been deposed in March 1809, to the heirship of his throne, as Crown Prince, and exercising the regal authority while



Charles the Thirteenth enjoyed the title of King. Napoleon was glad to be rid of him, for he disliked his combination of republican opinions and Gascon independence with high military abilities. But he was wise and honest enough to rule, not as a lieutenant of France, but as though he had been born a Swede. He began to relax the prohibitory system, and to cultivate amicable relations with Great Britain and Russia, before they coalesced or he broke with his former master, to whom he, too, was related, having married a sister of Joseph Bonaparte's wife—while Frederick of Denmark, a nephew of George the Third, timorously adhered to France. The same colossal blunder which had thus estranged from France the two maritime powers of the Baltic, was working to the same end in the very heart of Russia. That vast empire, it might be supposed, would find within itself such ample supplies of all that can be demanded by human wants or wishes, from the precious metals to the coarsest grain, as to render its people indifferent to foreign trade. On the contrary, its nobles, possessed of immense estates, worked by armies of peasant slaves, having once found a market for their produce beyond the seas, and received back the fabrications of an ingenious and skilful industry to which Russia could then present no imitation, murmured loudly at prohibitory restrictions, imposed by a foreign sovereign, on this convenient interchange, and were strenuously seconded by the mercantile class which it had called into existence. Turkey having reconciled herself to England, though still at war with Russia, an extensive smuggling trade was carried on through her European provinces; bales of goods, hidden in timber rafts and corn-laden boats, ascended the Danube, or were borne on men's shoulders through the passes of Carpathia. In December, 1810, Alexander virtually sanctioned this sort of traffic by a ukase opening the ports of Russia to goods not coming directly from British ports. The complaints of the French ambassador were disregarded, and retorted with charges of sundry violations of the treaty of Tilsit. Unsettled relations prevailed all through 1811; and when, at the commencement of the next year, Napoleon seized Swedish ships and marched an army on Swedish Pomerania, Bernadotte at once repaired to the great northern Autocrat, and settled with him a plan of resistance [March, 1812]—scarcely supposing, probably, the tremendous results to which it would lead; that it was the loosening of the gathering and suspended avalanche.

It was not in Napoleon's nature, and it was contrary to his established tactics, to wait upon events. He determined on the invasion of Russia, as he always determined on driving a column of his grenadiers through the extended ranks of an enemy in the field. He had summoned or invited to meet him at Dresden in the month of May, the Emperor of Austria and the King of Prussia, with a crowd of minor kings and vassal princes

treating them to imposing reviews by day, and Talma's acting at night. It was the culmination of his pride and power—a spectacle unparalleled in modern history; more exciting than any of the scenes which the great tragedian nightly enacted—and as evanescent. There were half a million of armed men gathering, at the word of that one man, between the Vistula and the Niemen—the contribution of nearly every country between those rivers and the western ocean. Austria furnished 30,000, Prussia 20,000, Italy 20,000, the Confederation of the Rhine 80,000, and France 270,000. Not since the days of the crusaders had Europe sent forth such hosts to battle—and not the barbarian rabble of Xerxes were more unconscious of the cause which drew them from their native, peaceful fields, and devoted them to slaughter. They were animated by no common sentiment—not with unreasoning love of country, nor the antipathy of race; neither—except the few thousand veterans in Napoleon's "Old Guard"—with idolatrous attachment to their chief, nor the intoxicating delusions of military glory.

It was midsummer when these immense masses of armed men, with trains miles'-long of artillery and luggage-waggon, crossed the Niemen into Lithuania, then the westernmost province of the Russian empire. The Czar's army evacuated Wilna, the capital of that province; and the surrounding country was scoured for provisions—for it had been resolved to depend mainly, even in these unknown regions, for the supplies of war upon its spoils. Vast herds of cattle were driven up by the lances of the Polish cavalry, while their horses fed upon or trampled the ripening corn. Thus they moved on, carrying disease in their midst, as well as leaving famine in their rear. Thus they advanced from the Niemen to the Dnieper, and quartered in Smolensk—the Russians still retiring before them, in impregnable masses of soldiery, and crowds of people, carrying with them every truss of hay and sack of grain—while themselves were wasting with sickness, dropping off from fatigue, speared by Cossacks, and diminished by reserves, to half their number. Let the reader look at the map, and observe the vast distance they had yet to traverse, ere the walls of Moscow could be gained—the country literally moving before them, the dreary way lit by burning towns and villages. Still the infatuation of pride forbade retreat. Moscow was reached—the battle of Borodino fought, and ten thousand French left dead upon the field. The ancient capital of the Czars was entered [September 15th], deserted by all but convicts and beggars, and from the palace of the Kremlin it was announced to Europe, in pompous phrase, that there the grand army would winter. The next night the city was in flames, mysteriously kindled, and that would not yield till four-fifths of the dwellings were destroyed. A month later that retreat was commenced which surpasses in appalling incidence whatever war had

before inflicted on its victims. From Moscow to Smolensk, and thence to Wilna—for the now victorious Russians compelled the invaders to return by the road along which they had come, and had blasted by their tread—the frozen land was covered with dead and dying men, buried as they fell in the ever-falling snow; while clouds of mounted spearmen, that seemed to ride on the wings of the sharp, sleety wind, impaled every straggler and broke up every bivouac. The guilty cause of all fled swiftly to his capital, anguish, surely, devouring his heart, and his master intellect reeling, like his dynasty, upon its throne. His agony, and that which he had caused, is best imagined from the confession of his bulletin, that, except the Imperial Guard, he had no longer an army!

He returned to find that popularity had deserted him with victory. Conspiracies had been detected in his capital—his courtiers evinced in their ill-concealed disaffection their foresight of his downfall—ominous hand-writings were on his public monuments—the provinces rejoiced at the rumour of his death. Prussia leagued with Russia against him. Germany was rising to the swell of Körner's "Song of the Sword." The Cossacks were sweeping down below the Elbe. Nearly all had deserted him but himself. The iron will that would not bend but to the stroke of absolute ruin—the self-sufficiency of an intellect that seemed creative in its vigour—the recollection from what he had risen, and how—the strange persuasion of a destiny yet unfilled; that girdle of invincibility to every great heart and of self-consuming fire to the bad—these were still his own; and they served him faithfully. He harangued, decreed, enforced—talked down the opposition that counselled the slow repair of tremendous misfortunes—appealed to feelings he had not quite exhausted in the national breast, insisted on new conscriptions, drafted militia into regular soldiers, and turned sailors into land-warriors, called home the veterans from Spain, tried once more the allegiance of his German vassals, answered with scorn the proffer of Alexander to stop at the Vistula if he would surrender all beyond the Elbe, raged at finding Austria neutral or worse, and planned the campaign of Dresden with the genius that dictated those of Marengo and Austerlitz. Three hundred and fifty thousand men were again under his banners. He would recover Leipzig, Dresden, and Berlin—and he did, by the battle of Lutzen and Bautzen [May the 2nd and 21st, 1813], regain the former two; and then consented to a six weeks' armistice. Metternich, the crafty, came to Dresden to "mediate," in the name of Austria; tried to regain for that empire the German provinces she had lost in her first contests with the revolutionary chiefs; and temporized till the tidings of Vittoria rendered defiance safe. Then the three coalesced for the "liberation of Germany." While Bernadotte and Blücher worsted his marshals, Napoleon himself gained several successive fights. But his raw

recruits filled him with shame and impatience. They had not been trained to their dreadful trade like the legions who lay upon the Russian fields. Himself was changing—the disease that at last proved fatal was gnawing at his stomach and embittering his temper. His insulted generals fell from his side in coldness. Murat, covered with the scars of his impetuous valour, he had called a fool, and all but a coward. Duroc, his faithful friend, was killed at his side—and he turned away at last to weep! At Leipzig, [October 16th and 18th], he kept his troops fighting two days—himself, for once, avoiding the field—ten thousand Saxons deserted him, and once more he was forced to retreat, with only seventy or eighty thousand of the three hundred and fifty that crossed the Rhine. In Paris he found discontent breaking into murmurs, Holland revolted against his government, and the Swiss consenting to the passage of the Austrians through their country into France. Thus was he attacked on all sides—by Wellington on the south, the Austrians on the south-east, the Russians and Prussians on the north and east; while English ships watched every mile of sea-coast. Bernadotte's defeat of the Danes had extinguished his last ally. Murat had gone over to the coalition, and was clearing Italy of the more faithful Beauharnais. The conscription brought in few but useless lads. The Republicans, who still loved France more than they hated Napoleon, advised him to levy the people *en masse*, and promised to sweep the invaders back as in the days of revolutionary fervour. But we always distrust those whom we have injured—the great libticide dreaded to arm the tens of thousands who still cherished the memories of the Convention, and would avenge themselves on his throne as soon as they had delivered their country. He at last consented to increase the National Guard in Paris, but so organized and officered it as to exclude what would have been to it as heart and blood. His old soldiers escaped to his standard from the different garrisons and departments in which he had placed them, and shouted at the mention of dying by his side. The educated and ardent youth who had grown up to hate the name of the Bourbons, were enthusiastic in his cause. But the result, the method, and the punishment of his tyranny, are seen in the sentence which the French historian, Mignet, uses to describe the general feeling at this moment:—"There was neither that impulse of despair nor of liberty which carries people to stern resistance; the war was not, as once, national—the Emperor had put all the public interest in himself alone, and all his means of defence in mechanical troops." He might have yet retained his crown; the allies—as much in timidity as in moderation, for they could scarcely believe that the Napoleon who had so often conquered them was really invincible—offered him peace, on the condition of surrendering all his conquests beyond the Rhine, the Alps, and the Pyrenees, and those maritime strongholds, Antwerp, Ostend, and Genoa, on which his heart was especially set,

"the reduction," in short, "of France to its ancient limits." "The restoration of the ancient race," was kept in view by the relentless government of England alone. But that "pride of soul" which he justly attributed to himself, and which looks like the highest magnanimity, forbade him, in his own words, "to sit down with a diminished empire on a dishonoured throne." By the sword he had risen—by that he would reign, or die. "I will clear France in three months," he exclaimed, "or perish." With an army only a third as numerous as those that were marching on his capital, he met them on the plains of Champagne, lying between the extremities of the Marne and the Seine. Military authorities speak of his defence as marvellous for its skill—it endeared him afresh to his soldiers by the personal courage he displayed, and revived the hopes of his adherents by numerous but unavailing successes. It was not in mortals to overcome such inequalities. While he engaged and defeated one army, another was stealing upon him; and by the time the rear of that column was cut off, the van of another was upon him. Meanwhile [February and March], a congress of diplomatists was sitting at Chatillon, on the Seine: Austria's Count Stadion, and England's Castlereagh, with Count Rasomowski representing Russia, and Baron Humboldt Prussia, chaffering with Marshal Caulaincourt the terms of peace, demands and concessions fluctuating with the tide of battle. From the 25th of January to the end of March, Napoleon held his triple enemies at bay, Soult retarding Wellington between the Pyrenees and Toulouse, and Beauharnais defending Italy. On the 30th Marmont was driven back on Paris—the Empress and Joseph fleeing, the students defending the heights of Montmartre; the people discouraged, it is said, by the authorities; and on the 31st the city capitulated to Alexander and Frederick, ere Napoleon could arrive to its relief. The allied sovereigns declared they would no more treat with Napoleon. He marched his little army to Fontainebleau, raging with passionate grief, and the faithful soldiers ran thither to him. Talleyrand had reappeared in Paris, negotiated with the allies, led the senate and legislature, procured a decree of deposition, and formed a provisional government, with himself at its head. The marshals made peace for themselves, then went to Fontainebleau, and recommended abdication. Ney, "the bravest of the brave," gave the advice for himself, the generals, and the army—what could be done but accede? The act of abdication was, after a severe struggle, written and signed, with a reservation in favour of the Empress and her son; but was followed in a day or two by an unconditional retirement. Alexander affected a character for magnanimity, and proposed to bestow on the fallen Emperor the sovereignty of Elba, in the Mediterranean, with a revenue of six million francs a year from France; to which the other powers reluctantly assented. One cannot but smile at the drollery of the proposal. What notions kings must have of

each other! Could it be a consolation to the humbled autocrat that he was still to be saluted with the titles of Majesty, or a diversion to his wounded thoughts to indulge in daily drill? There can hardly be a doubt that Napoleon himself saw from the gloomy apartments of Fontainebleau his way back to universal sovereignty from the plank thus kindly thrown to him. He hesitated till he had ascertained that his commanders everywhere were beaten, or assented to the new order of things—that his father-in-law was inflexible, but Bernadotte reluctant to invade his native land, and Murat repentant—then embarked with the prophecy on his lips, “The Bourbons will be turned off in six months.” Any one must have thought so, who had known the French, and who had seen Louis the Eighteenth entering the capital of his new kingdom literally surrounded with Austrian sabres and Cossack lances, and declining the next day the constitution, proffered by the provisional government. The treaty of Paris was signed on the 30th of May, by the plenipotentiaries of France on the one side, and Great Britain, Russia, and Prussia, on the other. It provided that France should be reduced to its original limits, as they stood on the 1st of January, 1792, with the exception of various small territories, some of which were ceded to France by the neighbouring powers, others by France to them, for the sake of defining more clearly, and for mutual advantage, its frontiers, but which, upon a balance of gains and losses, gave it an increase of four hundred and fifty thousand souls. Avignon, however, and the country of Venaissin, the first conquests of the revolution, were secured to it. Holland was to be an independent state, under the sovereignty of the house of Orange, with an accession of territory drawn from the union with Flanders; Germany was to be independent, but under the guarantee of a federal union; Switzerland independent, governed by itself; Italy divided into sovereign states. The free navigation of the Rhine was expressly stipulated. Malta, the ostensible cause of the renewal of the war after the treaty of Amiens, was ceded in perpetuity, with its dependencies, to Great Britain; and she, on her part, agreed to restore all the colonies taken from France or her allies during the war, with the exception of the islands of Tobago, St. Lucie, and the portion of St. Domingo formerly belonging to Spain, which was to be restored to that power, in the West, and the Isle of France in the East Indies. Guadeloupe, Martinique, and Le Guyane, were also restored to France; she was to be permitted to form commercial establishments in the East Indies, but under the condition that no more troops were to be sent there than were necessary for the purposes of police; and she regained the right of fishing on the coast of Newfoundland and in the gulf of St. Lawrence. All subordinate points and matters of details were, by common consent, referred to a congress of the great powers, which it was agreed should assemble at Vienna in the succeeding autumn.

At the appointed time and place—having spent the summer in England, where they were, of course, objects of enthusiastic admiration and intense interest—the potentates and plenipotentiaries of Russia, Austria, Prussia, and Great Britain, assembled, and constituted that Congress of Vienna which has exercised such a marked influence on the subsequent fortunes of Europe. For some time, nothing but festivity went on—"the Congress dances," said a wit of the party, "but does not advance." But presently Talleyrand came, demanding that France, though the vanquished party, be represented in the assembly of European powers. His claim was admitted, and dissension—artfully fomented, it is said, by that archetype of diplomacy—soon broke out. The war undertaken for the liberation of the peoples, it now became apparent, was to be completed for the aggrandizement of the monarchs. Russia claimed Poland, and Prussia Saxony, as the reward of their exertions. Castlereagh at first gave his consent, but recalled it on orders from home, where it offended all parties. Austria was alarmed at the prospect of increased power to her right and left hand neighbours, to whom she already owed too much to feel quite independent. Talleyrand, with an interest separate from either, plied all parties with the watchword "legitimacy," further to distract them; urging the restoration of the Bourbons to the throne of Naples, and opposing the dethronement of the King of Saxony, on the same principle of hereditary royal right. So decided had the dispute become, that Austria, France, and England, entered into a secret treaty [Feb. 1815] to resist the demands of the other two members of this "Holy Alliance." And while thus seeking to circumvent each other, and ready to plunge the world in fresh war for the decision of their villanous projects, these royal hypocrites were ascribing their victories over Napoleon to the grace of God, and declaring themselves appointed to govern Europe in the spirit of the gospel! Alexander surpassed his fellows in the assumption or self-delusion of piety. He even got himself a reputation for fanaticism, by his talk of the perfectibility of the human species, and the subjection of the world to the gentle sway of Jesus. On Christmas-day, 1815, he issued a manifesto, in the name of Austria, Prussia, and Russia, solemnly declaring their "fixed resolution, both in the administration of their respective States, and in their political relations with every other government, to take for their guide the precepts of the holy religion of our Saviour—the precepts of justice, Christian charity, and peace, which, far from being applicable only to private concerns, must have an immediate influence on the councils of princes, and guide all their steps, as being the only means of consolidating human institutions, and remedying their imperfections." It was not the first time that kings the most ambitious had played this part; Frederick the Great raised Prussia from a third to a first-rate kingdom while corresponding with Voltaire

about philosophy and virtue. But an unwelcome disturbance of these games was at hand. Napoleon kept his eye from the shores of Elba on the quarrelling diplomatists and the smarting French. The latter, wounded to the quick by the presence of a king who had no one of the national characteristics, readily received the impression which Napoleon's personal correspondents assiduoualy promoted,—“He will return with the violets;”, and an extensive conspiracy, with its centre in Paris and its ramifications in every regiment, was established to realize the sentiment. Meanwhile he amused the English Commissioner, who was appointed to reside with him, with the talk of a man who looked back on the world as one who had for ever forsaken it; and while that gentleman was absent for a few days, embarked with a thousand soldiers, landed at Cannes [March the 1st], and issued a proclamation, inviting the people of France once more to his banners. The extraordinary incidents of his progress to Paris are well known—how nearly every town opened its gates at his approach—how the armies sent against him went over to his side with unbounded enthusiasm at the sound of his voice—how Soult and Ney, despite their solemn, and doubtless sincere, assurances to Louis that they would drive him from the land, or bring him captive to Paris, found themselves hurried by their own recollections, and the undisguised feeling of troops and people, to salute him as again their lord—how, in short, he was borne along to the throne from which the Bourbon fled in dismay by an irresistible tide of national emotion. His “Hundred Days” of power were signalized by acts of enduring benefit and nobility—such as the abolition of the slave-trade—and displayed again that native aptitude for government which makes one deplore the more its perversion by insatiate ambition, and of which the “Code Napoleon” (compiled as much by as for him, in the earlier years of the empire) is the everlasting monument. His brother Lucien, Carnot, Lafayette, and others of the old Republicans, were once more around him, and obtained a constitution which promised the restoration of political liberty as well as of national independence. But it is the fatal necessity of bad men to employ worse. Napoleon once more received back the infamous Fouché, not because he confided in, but because he felt he could not dispense with him. His own military genius shone with a splendour more than equal to his best days. A hundred and twenty-five thousand men, with a goodly proportion of cavalry and artillery, were ready for the field at the beginning of June. Not that Napoleon was animated with his old passion for conquest, but that Europe was literally in arms against him. The allied sovereigns had bound themselves to maintain, for twenty years, the treaty of Paris, and to furnish each a hundred and fifty thousand men. The news of Napoleon's landing in France instantly silenced their disputes. Though re-elected by acclamation to the throne of France, he was proclaimed



at once, by these audacious dividers of the continent, an usurper, and an invader of the peace of Europe, and given over to public vengeance. They adjusted their differences by mutual concessions, but at the expense of the unconsulted peoples; and signed, a week before the battle of Waterloo, that definitive treaty of the Congress of Vienna which may be better explained hereafter. Great Britain and Prussia concentrated about eighty thousand each (half the English contingent consisting of German mercenaries) in the Netherlands, either to invade France or defend Germany, as circumstances might demand; while nearly a million of men were arming in the rear. Wellington, in communication with the traitor Fouché, was informed of Napoleon's decision to act on the offensive as soon as it was known in Paris; and placed his army, in concert with that of Marshal Blücher, in front of Brussels; where Marlborough and Eugene, a hundred and ten years before, had checked the ambition of Louis the Fourteenth. But treachery is a double-edged tool. Fouché contrived to delay at the frontiers the information he duly despatched from the capital—and the allied generals, there can be no doubt, were attacked by their more brilliant antagonist when they imagined he was but leaving Paris.\* With extraordinary celerity, the Emperor marched into Belgium, and, with the boldness which had so often proved successful, struck a blow that aimed to separate and destroy singly his unsuspecting foes. It failed from one of those unaccountable circumstances which seem to have decided half the great crises of human history. An advanced body of English were posted at Quatre Bras; the Prussians lay at Ligny. They were attacked simultaneously [June 16th]—the former by Ney, the latter by the Emperor in person; and had it not been that a column of French was kept in motion, marching and countermarching, the whole day—ordered by Napoleon to leave Ney for his own relief, then recalled to Quatre Bras—one of the two must have been cut off. As it was, the Prussians fell back, severely injured, to Wavres—the English were left after a desperate struggle in possession of their post, and then retired, with the main body, to Waterloo, where they were engaged on the ever-memorable 18th, unsaid by their allies, till they had broken the last of the many columns of armed men and horse that were driven upon their squares. It would be in vain to attempt here to describe the aspect of that ensanguined field—or to discuss the military merits of the two great commanders who were then, for the first and last time, confronted: in war, that pretends to arbitrate where reason fails, it is emphatically true that "success is virtue and misfortune crime." It is known to every

\* The writer has adopted, in this and other disputed passages of military history, the conclusions of Alison; whose industry, research, and judgment, are beyond impeachment, where, as in this instance, his strong political bias is not gratified, but the contrary. Mr. Macfarlane may be left to describe the account preferred as "ignorant babble."

school-boy—perhaps too well for the interests of peace—how through that midsummer sabbath, men fired and fought, standing or trampling through the long, wet, green corn, that had been their bed the previous night, and which to tens of thousands was a bed of anguished death—how the dull, sullen sky ceased its rain and thunder only to be assailed by the incessant roar of brazen throats, and darkened with an iron storm—how to a great part of one army was added the intolerable pain of inaction to the endurance of continual onslaughts—and how the other was overwhelmed with a destruction that permitted no rallying, and extinguished even the courage of despair. Napoleon fled back to the Paris he had left with exultant hope, the messenger of his own irretrievable disasters. His first thoughts were of suspending the constitution, getting himself made dictator, and fighting the eight hundred thousand men that he knew could be in France by a month! Happily in vain. The representatives decreed themselves permanent, and voted his abdication—the Republicans clinging to the hope of yet excluding the Bourbons. He complied, and retired to Malmaison, whence the dead body of his faithful Josephine had been carried out a year before. A provisional government, of which Fouché managed to obtain the headship, made but feeble resistance to the invaders. On the 2nd of July, the Prussians were at Versailles. On the 3rd, a military convention was concluded between Wellington and Blucher and Marshal Davoust, the French commander. On the 8th, Louis re-entered the city, from which Ney and others fled in disguise. For a month, the great ex-Emperor sought an outlet of escape to America, but in vain; and, on the 15th of July, went on board the British “*Bellerophon*,” off Rochefort, writing that celebrated appeal to the Prince Regent—“Exposed to the factions which divide my country, to the hostility of the great powers of Europe, I have terminated my political career; and I come, like Themistocles, to seat myself by the hearth of the British people. I put myself under the protection of its laws, and claim it from your Royal Highness, as the most powerful, the most constant, and the most generous of my enemies.” The beauty of the act is certainly marred by the fact that there remained no alternative but that of unconditional surrender. It is impossible, nevertheless, not to admire the air of heroism which it is made to assume, to reprobate the meanness which answered it with a sentence of life-long imprisonment, and to look with a sad, regretful eye on the figure that recedes at once from these humble pages and the scenes in which it has played so grand a part.

It is time now to notice an episode of this period, which we have hitherto evaded, because it had little influence on the fate of the greater European tragedy, and from reluctance to approach so miserable a passage of Anglo-Saxon history—the two years’ war between England and the United States. The commercial prosperity and political growth of the Republic, from the

establishment of its independence up to 1812, had been rapid beyond historic parallel. But, unhappily, there had grown up beneath its democratic institutions, a party and a spirit that yet survive—that, even at the present moment, unfortunately in the ascendant, foully dishonour and fiercely trouble it—the party and the spirit of territorial cupidity and personal slavery. Virginian planters, Kentucky pioneers, and Philadelphian traders, combined with an imported population of French and Irish refugees in entertaining inveterate, rancorous hostility to England—for which the Irish, indeed, had too much reason—in close alliance with the very worst demagoguism of France, and in a lust for conquest which would condescend to recognise neither the rights of the red man nor the injunctions of the federal government. These men embittered the last days of Washington, wounded his spirit by their broad insinuations of political dotage and anti-republican leanings; and compelled him to employ, on one occasion, the military force at his command for their restraint. John Adams, who succeeded him [1796], governed in his spirit; but there came in with the new century a race of Presidents who, it is to be feared, rather truckled to than resisted them. Jefferson, however sagacious and philanthropic, was twice elected by their influence, and Madison brought their turbulence to a catastrophe. The technical cause of quarrel with England was twofold—the Orders in Council, forbidding trade with France and French allies; and the right of search for deserted seamen. American statesmen laid down a principle which the diplomatists of the Old World contended was new to international law—that “free bottoms make free goods;” that “the flag covers all that sail.” They denied the right of English vessels to prevent the ships of neutral nations carrying whatever they pleased; and they retaliated, after a very suicidal fashion, on the Orders in Council, by a non-intercourse act—“laying an embargo on all vessels of the United States and commanding the trading ships of all other nations whatsoever to quit the American harbours.” This monstrous act was voted in secret session, and against the warm opposition of the New England representatives. This was in the fall of the year 1807, and so matters continued substantially till the declaration of war in 1812. In 1809, on the accession of Madison, the mercantile part of the American people compelled the restriction of the non-intervention act to France and England; with the additional proviso, that if either of those nations should consent, within three months, to the neutral commerce of the States, intercourse was to be renewed. There the English Government should have struck in, and, by repealing at once the Orders in Council, have seconded the efforts of the well-disposed portion of the American community. It was obliged to do so three years later [June, 1812], at the repeated demand of English manufacturers, for whom Mr. Brougham appeared at the bar of the Commons, and obtained a Parlia-

mentary committee. But the concession came too late to avert war—a war the most disgraceful and disastrous in which ever nations engaged. Napoleon had forestalled us—he had repealed, so early as April, 1810, his decrees, so far as they affected the United States, though he withheld the official declaration till war with England had been resolved upon; complicity in which was imputed to President Madison, his party desiring at once to subjugate Canada, and to gain Spanish Florida by leave of Napoleon. Meanwhile, monster frigates were being constructed, useless merchantmen converted into privateers, seamen drilled to gun-service, an army prepared for the invasion of Canada, and several sea-fights, arising from the right of search, bruited about to inflame the belligerent rivalry of both peoples. After a long and stormy debate, war was determined upon in the American House of Representatives by seventy-nine to forty-five—the latter chiefly New Englanders. So decided was the resistance to this direful policy, that five of the north-eastern states threatened secession; Massachusetts addressed to the legislature a remonstrance worthy of men who loved peace and liberty with equal ardour; and Boston put on mourning, her church-bells ringing muffled peals, as though both liberty and peace were no more. Over the details of the war we hasten, as over the details of a revolting subject.—A British officer in Upper Canada, General Brock, captured an American garrison on the Detroit frontier. The invading army of General Hull—two thousand five hundred men—capitulated within a month or two after the declaration of war; and General Wadsworth, who followed him, with a somewhat larger army, fared yet worse. Victorious in one or two actions by sea, the Americans were also more successful by land and on the lakes in the spring of 1813. They carried the towns of York and Niagara, but suffered a defeat shortly afterwards, and abandoned the Canadian coast of Niagara. Another invading army, passing the Detroit frontier and overrunning Michigan, was overthrown, and General Harrison's fortified camp attacked with complete success to the British. On Lake Ontario, on the contrary, the American flotilla was victorious; and their land forces retrieved their recent reverses. Three armies were, therefore, put in motion—one crossing Lake Erie, another Lake Ontario to Kingston, and a third marching on Montreal. Had not the British officers ventured to disobey their superior, Upper Canada would have been lost—but by their spirit, the invaders were driven back with great loss, the fort of Niagara retaken, and General Hull, who had come up to Buffalo for their relief, also defeated. While the Canadian militia, assisted by a few regiments of the line, and the discreditable alliance of Red Indians, thus held Canada for the British Crown, our ships of war blockaded the harbours and ascended the rivers of the States; the victory of the "Shannon" over the "Chesapeake," in that famous ocean duel [June 1, 1813],

having destroyed the prestige of the American navy. Regiments of Peninsular veterans now arriving, gained yet more decided victories over the brave but undisciplined Statesmen; one battle taking place within the very sound of Niagara's torrent [July 25, 1814]. The war now became aggressive on the part of the British. Washington, the yet youthful capital of the Republic, was attacked, carried, and—to the deep disgrace of the parties in command—its public buildings, but recently constructed, blown up or burned. The Americans were avenged by the reverses they inflicted on our forces on Lake Erie, through the utter imbecility of our commander, Sir George Prevost, which stung eight hundred men into desertion, and involved himself at last in trouble from which a sudden natural death was deemed a timely escape. Further retribution for the wanton destruction of Washington was suffered at New Orleans, the attack on which swamp-surrounded city [December, 1814] cost the lives of Pakenham and Gibbs (officers who had highly distinguished themselves in European warfare), picked off by Kentucky rifles, and of two thousand unfortunate men. The disaster was at once augmented and relieved by the circumstance, that peace had been concluded two months before its occurrence. The north-eastern states had brought their aversion to the war to the length of refusing to contribute to its conduct, and the threat of making a separate peace with Great Britain. Foreign trade was literally annihilated—fourteen hundred American merchantmen had appeared as prizes in the London "Gazette." Happily, our war party could no longer find a pretence for continuing hostilities, and the Emperor Alexander—with whom the American war party had contracted a suspicious friendship—mediated on behalf of the States. Negotiations were carried on first at Gottenburg, afterwards at Ghent, and terminated in a treaty which left the questions the war was started to decide absolutely untouched. No mention was made of the words that had drawn two brother nations into a conflict bitter and cruel beyond ordinary wars, as are usually the quarrels of near relatives over those of ordinary men. The boundary of Maine question was left to trouble another generation; but a clause was inserted to the perfect observance of which a great peacemaker\* has recently appealed as a justification of his doctrines—namely, that neither nation should keep an armed ship on those inland seas which lie between their respective territories. Never did a war, in its origin, conduct, and conclusion, more loudly testify to the folly and wickedness of carrying international disputes to the bloody arbitrament of gunpowder and steel—to the brute force of military strength, or the infernal craft of military skill.

A few words on our internal history during the last three years of this dismal period are now required of us. The Perceval administration was justly

\* Mr. Cobden, at the Wrexham peace-meeting, November, 1850

mourned as the last truly Protestant and Tory cabinet. With its successor was introduced that policy of concession and temperate conservatism which had its highest type in the great statesman who has recently departed, but who was then commencing public life. The Catholic question was no longer tabooed in the cabinet, now that the monarch was virtually defunct; so that when Canning proposed, in the summer of 1812, to engage the House to the discussion of the subject the following year, Castlereagh redeemed the pledge he and his great master had given and broken, by voting for the motion, which was carried by the triumphant majority of two hundred and thirty-five to one hundred and six. In the Upper House, the Marquis of Wellesley introduced a similar resolution; three cabinet ministers spoke in its favour; and it was lost by only one vote. A general election—Parliament having sat six sessions—which ensued in the same year, amidst intense excitement, resulted in a House less favourable to the Catholic claims. When Grattan introduced a bill based on Canning's resolution of the previous session, the first division, after a fierce debate of four nights, showed a majority of only forty. In committee, the Speaker, Mr. Abbott, passionately opposed the bill, declaring that, under its sanction, the Crown itself might be Catholic, and moved the omission of the vital clause—that which admitted Catholics to Parliament; and, unhappily, succeeding by a majority of four, the bill was abandoned. This retrogression had more to do than was apparent with *ab extra* influences. Concessions at home alternated with victories abroad. The retreat from Moscow and the march on Paris deferred for twenty years the triumph of a cause that seemed beyond the fear of reverse. All domestic interests were forgotten in the exultation of victory in the greatest conflict of modern times. Wellington, for some time subject to ignorant and unjust detracting, suddenly became the object of universal and extravagant praise. In 1811, young Mr. Peel displayed his sagacity and generosity in defending him—in 1814, Canning and Grattan eulogized him in their most eloquent strains. "The mighty deluge," said the former, "which overwhelmed the continent, begins to subside; the limits of nations are again visible; the spires and turrets of old establishments reappear above the subsiding wave. To whom, under God, do we owe this? To the illustrious Wellington—whose admirable designs, whose rapid executions, whose sagacious combinations of means to an end, the completeness of whose plans, whose thunderbolt of war at last launched upon the foe, has furnished this country with the most ample basis she ever yet possessed for a secure and glorious peace." The formal thanks of both Houses embodied the panegyrics of their leading orators, and were personally acknowledged. All the titles of the peerage, with permission to cover his breast with foreign decorations, were bestowed upon the "illustrious soldier." Nor with these

honorary rewards did the admiring gratitude of Parliament and people content itself. In successive sums, four hundred thousand pounds were voted to Wellington for his services. Large are the rewards of peace to the few who have headed the hosts and survived the vicissitudes of war! But large as are those rewards, they constitute only a fraction of the sum total of a nation's "glory bill." Every attempt to represent to the mind the cost of this twenty years' war, is utterly inadequate. It is possible to calculate, perhaps with approximate correctness, the loss by death in the field, on the march, and in the hospital, on the deck and in the cockpit; and thence to overwhelm the imagination and torture the heart with an elaborated tableau of physical suffering—or to estimate the pecuniary loss to the community, negatively, by the abstraction of so many labourers from the productive fields of industry, and, positively, by their sustenance in idleness; not only non-productive while consuming, but destructive, in the shape of arms, ammunition, and accoutrements, of several times their proper share of material wealth were they peacefully employed; and so to astound the faculties with an incomprehensible aggregate of annihilated substance, whether in the shape of pounds sterling, or in the more impressive form of quarters of wheat. It is easy to write down that France, from the Revolution to the Restoration, levied upwards of four million men, a million and a half of whom perished in war, and half a million languished for years in foreign captivity—and that England lost, during the same period, more than three hundred ships of war. It is a step towards the full understanding of this awful statement, to think, for a moment, of every French regiment employed with the implements of agriculture upon their native fields, and on every English ship converted, as it might be, into a flourishing town. Not dwelling upon these suggestive circumstances of this vast destructive process—this deliberate surpassing, by the art of man, of the volcano, the earthquake, the tropical tornado, in desolating potency—we might go on to ponder its influence, its divergent and reflex influence, on the finances, the commerce, the manners, the religion, and the literature—on all, in short, that constitutes the condition and character of a nation; to which we devote a brief concluding chapter.

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## CHAPTER X.

HOW NATIONS SURVIVE CRIMES—STATISTICAL DATA—PROGRESS OF POPULATION, AND OF FAUPERISM AND CRIME—THE RISE OF PRICES, BUT NOT OF WAGES—EXTENSIVE USE OF MACHINERY, AND ITS EFFECT ON THE POOR—EXPORTS AND IMPORTS—REVENUE AND DEBT—PAPER-MONEY AND THE SINKING-FUND—LITERATURE, SCIENCE, AND ART.

"WHEN, previous to the Revolution,"—says Chateaubriand, speaking "from the tomb" ("Mémoires d'outre Tombe")—"I read in history of public

troubles in different nations, I could not conceive how people could have existed in those times." A similar difficulty must have been experienced by the thoughtful reader of the foregoing pages, as it had often previously been felt by the writer. "The Revolution made me comprehend the possibility of such a mode of life. The moments of crisis produce a redoubled vitality in the life of man. The struggle and the shock form a transitory combination which does not allow of a moment of *ennui*."

We shall probably find in the answer of the brilliant Frenchman to his own question, the solution of the problem we have used his words to describe. We shall find that, notwithstanding the tremendous sacrifices which England made, and the sufferings she endured, through the first fifteen years of the nineteenth century, she progressed beyond former parallel in those particulars to which peace is usually considered all but essential—in population, in agricultural productiveness, in foreign trade; but, at the same time, in crime and pauperism; and that, moreover, while the amount of her burdens was exaggerated, her energy was stimulated, was followed by a perilous collapse, and has entailed upon posterity incumbrances not inherited from prior ages.

The following statistics—extracted from Porter's "Progress of the Nation"—are the essential data of our investigation. Deficient as they obviously are, they bear the highest reputation—and the reign of the statisticians dates only from within the last ten years. For convenience of reference and remark they are divided into two classes:—

Years.	Population of Great Britain.	Commitments in England & Wales.	Poor and County Rates.	Average price of Wheat.
	£		£	s. d.
1800	10,680,000	....	.....	127 0
1801	10,880,000	....	4,017,871	128 6
1802	10,492,646	....	.....	67 3
1803	11,007,000	....	4,077,691	60 0
1804	11,200,000	....	.....	69 6
1805	11,404,000	4,605	.....	85 0
1806	11,600,000	4,346	.....	88 0
1807	11,850,000	4,446	.....	78 2
1808	12,020,000	4,735	.....	85 3
1809	12,190,000	5,330	.....	106 0
1810	12,310,000	5,146	.....	112 0
1811	12,596,803	5,337	6,656,105	118 0
1812	12,800,000	6,576	.....	118 0
1813	13,000,000	7,164	.....	120 0
1814	13,200,000	6,390	6,294,581	85 0
1815	13,420,000	7,818	5,418,846	76 0

The first class of facts are those relating to population, pauperism, crime, and the price of wheat. These have a close and effective relation to one another: The popular doctrine concerning them is substantially correct—however unsatisfactory, or rather incomplete, in its theoretic development, to the social philosopher—that the increase of the first-named (popu-



lation) is significant of prosperity; and that the increase of the latter three, is mutually consequent, as well as invariably coincident. The "true law of population," it may be, is yet to be ascertained—whether a high or low physical condition be more favourable to the propagation of the species, may, perhaps, still be questioned. The truth probably is, that while the latter is more prolific, its productions are feeble and short-lived—that poverty has many more children than wealth or competence, but that they perish as of a rot; that the balance is thus preserved, and human productiveness is not permitted to outstrip the provision, or rather capability, of Nature. So long, therefore, as year by year a steady increase of population is observable, it is assumed that no serious interruption has been offered to the natural progress of a nation. Applying this first test, we detect no indication of national suffering during the war, but the reverse. The numerical growth of the people, it will be observed, was uninterrupted, either by the desolations of the war, or the unseen operations of domestic distress. The census was taken in 1801, and again in 1811; in both cases, the figures given above include the army and navy, in which there were, at the first date, 470,598—at the latter, 640,500; and the increase per cent. between the two periods was 14.3. The next test we apply, that of pauperism, is conclusive in the opposite direction. The increase of pauperism, evinced by the rapidly augmented amounts of poor and county rates, is indisputable proof of the distressed condition of the working classes. The table given above is imperfect; omitting several years consecutively, not giving the number of recipients as well as amount of relief dispensed, nor distinguishing county from poor's rate, and is considerably below what is given by other authorities; but all accounts concur in testifying that the cost to the community of maintaining its destitute poor, rose fully fifty per cent. The criminal returns, assuming the connexion of destitution and crime, are decisive in proving the popular deterioration. If the column distinguished grave from light offences, the great proportionate preponderance of the former would confirm the conclusion. Nor are the causes of this deterioration hard to discover. The monetary difficulties of '93 to '97 had made thousands of bankrupts among the middle classes, forcing them down to a lower rank, and their dependents lower still. While the price of wheat and other articles of food had risen in a frightful ratio, wages had not kept pace with them. The cause of the former we shall presently show; but it did not affect, in an equal degree, the latter. *A priori* reasoning and uniform experience would lead us to expect the discrepancy. Working men knew the fact, that their wages did not rise with their expenses, long before they understood the reason—namely, that the one is not dependent upon the other. A multitude of statements are at hand to confirm this conclusion as to the particular period before us. They may be condensed into the one

fact, that at the middle of the last century wheat stood at thirty shillings per quarter, and the rural labourer's wages at six shillings per week—at the beginning of the present century, the former was a hundred and twenty, the latter ten, and never rose, through the whole period, above eleven or twelve. With this was going on a scandalous process—stimulated by the enormously high value of land and its produce—the enclosure of common land, not for the benefit of the people, but of landlords. Between 1800 and 1810, 1,550,010 acres were thus appropriated; and the system progressed at the same rate till the enactment of the corn-laws in 1815, and after. The very extensive introduction of mechanical as a substitute for manual labour, also contributed largely to the disasters of the poor. Where it did not throw out of employment altogether, and inflict entire destitution, it lessened means too scanty before—stopped the cottage dame's spinning-wheel, if it did not silence the weaver's loom. However great the benefits ultimately conferred upon the nation by that memorable change, there can be no doubt that its immediate effect upon a class—and that the largest and most helpless—was severely disastrous. The remarks of Mr. Doubleday on the general subject and this particular crisis, are as truthful as they are emphatic:—"Under a proper system the employment of machinery cannot be an evil; but where the value of everything is measured, as in England, by money, and by money alone—where the consequences of things, as respects national morality, or national happiness, are put aside as unworthy of notice amidst the calculation of profits and the summing up of pounds sterling—these inventions may, and do, bring with them many evils. So it was in this instance. No one deemed the labourers who were thus deprived of employment worth a thought. Instead of being cared for, they were left to the comfort of a metaphor, and told to open or seek out new channels of industry."\* So severe and extensive was the distress inflicted by this transition from one epoch to another of our industrial history, that through the winter of 1811, and half the following year, the northern and midland counties were the scene of continual outrages—known as the Luddite, or machine-breaking, riots—and the "comfort" administered was not even that of a "metaphor," but a special commission, penal enactments, and numerous executions.

We pass on to a second class of facts—those relating to the industry, commerce, revenue, and debts of the nation:—

\* Financial, Monetary, and Statistical History of England, p. 195.

Years.	British and Irish Produce Exported.	Total Exports. Official value.	Imports. Official value.	Revenue.	National Debt.
	£	£	£	£	£
1800	11,549,681	32,381,617	28,257,781	34,145,564	447,147,164
1801	10,336,966	34,031,574	30,435,268	34,113,146	447,043,489
1802	12,677,431	38,873,324	28,308,573	36,368,149	552,231,786
1803	8,032,643	28,499,174	25,104,541	38,689,392	528,260,642
1804	8,938,741	31,616,050	26,454,281	46,176,492	545,803,318
1805	7,643,120	31,020,061	27,344,720	50,847,706	573,529,932
1806	7,717,555	33,579,434	25,501,478	55,796,086	593,694,287
1807	7,624,312	31,015,536	23,326,845	59,339,321	601,733,073
1808	5,776,775	30,387,990	25,660,953	62,098,191	604,287,474
1809	12,750,358	46,292,632	30,170,292	63,719,400	614,789,091
1810	9,357,435	43,419,336	37,613,294	67,144,542	624,301,396
1811	6,117,730	28,801,120	25,240,704	65,173,545	635,583,448
1812	9,583,065	39,043,273	34,925,922	65,037,850	661,409,958
1813	Custom House records destroyed by fire.			68,748,363	740,023,535
1814	19,365,981	53,573,234	32,622,771	71,134,563	752,857,226
1815	15,748,554	58,624,550	31,822,053	72,210,512	816,311,940

The first of these columns tells its own tale of agricultural activity, and illustrates the above-mentioned progress of enclosure acts. The export and import returns show how for awhile Napoleon's continental system retarded the dispersion through Europe of the productions of our manufacturing energy. A great proportion of the value put down went over to North and South America; with the states of which latter a gambling trade was carried on, to recoil on the speculators; and another large proportion to the colonies we had taken from France and her allies. But withal, there was a vast accumulation of manufactured goods in the warehouses of Lancashire. The quantities of cotton, flax, &c., wrought up was immense. The consumption of raw cotton at five different periods was as follows:—

In 1785	. . . . .	17,992,882 lbs.
In 1801	. . . . .	54,203,433 lbs.
In 1805	. . . . .	58,873,163 lbs.
In 1810	. . . . .	123,701,826 lbs.
In 1815	. . . . .	92,625,951 lbs.

To the revenue and debt a common remark is applicable—that enormously large as was their real amount, the nominal was much exaggerated. The paper-money with which the Bank of England and its provincial offspring deluged the country—the Bank Restriction Act (such was the misnomer of the edict which released the Bank from the obligation it could no longer meet) being prolonged from session to session, and until six months after the declaration of peace—and which flowed back upon the Treasury, both as taxes and loans, was in reality far below its legal value. Its depreciation below the coined standard is abundantly proved by the incontestable fact, that the exportation of gold and silver was severely prohibited; and that at the same time the one-pound note could be bought for sixteen silver shillings, the golden guinea would fetch readily a one-pound note and

seven shillings. Lord King, one of the "convertible economists," brought the question to an issue, by giving notice to his tenants [1810] that he would receive his rents only in gold; and that again was met by Parliament declaring Bank of England notes a legal tender—as they continue to this day. As the paper-money was thrown upon the market, general prices of course rose. Every one had notes, and was ready to part with them for more substantial commodities, the latter naturally rising in value as their purchase-money became plentiful. How huge a robbery was perpetrated on the nation when the loans thus borrowed in depreciated paper were acknowledged, and saddled on future generations, at standard money value, will be hereafter shown. Of the debt, it should also here be recalled to memory, that it was the professed, and possibly the sincere, intention of Pitt, to effect its extinction with his own generation. Had he survived to witness the success of the great—the greatly criminal—design of restoring by force of foreign arms the Bourbons, which meaner men accomplished, perhaps he would have prevailed with the nation to give a fairer trial to that Sinking Fund which it is now the fashion to deride. Great financial authorities had laid down the principle of what has perplexed so many juvenile arithmeticians in its school-book form—the astounding results of compound interest. So long as there was any surplus, however small, the system was sound and practicable, just and beneficial. But when money came to be regularly borrowed for the very purpose of lying at interest to pay off former loans, the thing was suspected to be a juggle. Large sums were so applied, however, year by year, till the conclusion, and some ten years beyond the conclusion, of the war; as we shall hereafter have occasion to observe.

Our remaining space would scarcely permit the enumeration of the eminent men in literature, science, and the arts, who adorned this troublous period—nor adorned alone, but, as the stars were fabled to do, influenced as well as enlightened. Their number and works are strikingly illustrative of the aid which great men draw from, and the influence they exert upon, their age. The effect of the French Revolution upon the higher intellects of Europe, was like that produced by immersing in a jar of oxygen gas a lighted taper. The enthusiasm natural to genius was inflamed by contact with the fiery vapours evolved by the shock of wide-spread social convulsions. With the dawn of the century rose, conspicuous and powerful, that marvellous triumvirate—Wordsworth, Coleridge, and Southey;—presently, that self-elected tribunal, which vindicated its presumption by the blows it inflicted;—again, that band of sweet, soft singers stigmatized as the "Cockney school;"—and, anon, as if to avenge the derision of their milder brethren, the school anathematized as the "Satanic." Nor were these all. Belonging to neither of these companies, nor constituting another, were Scott, Campbell,

and Moore. The "Lakers" gave the first and most decisive proof of the influence of the French Revolution on the mind of educated English youth. The homely but robust versification of Cowper and Crabbe, which had supervened upon the elegant inanity and feeble artificiality of a previous age, was supplanted in turn by a poetry that took its inspiration immediately from Nature and the human heart—from Nature in her Alpine simplicity and grandeur; from hearts baptized with the afflatus of new, sublime hopes, quickly succeeded by the sorrows of doubt and disappointment. Scott's metrical romances embodied and fed the chivalric spirit which a general war naturally revived; and Campbell's lyrics were the pæon of each successive triumph, and the dirge of lamented deaths. Leigh Hunt softened with the beauty of his Italian fancies, and Charles Lamb with his own genial spirit, the fierceness of public passions. Byron flung the heat of an orientalized imagination and of mental suffering into the war of social elements, and possessed with a sentimental misanthropy the youthful multitude whom public and real wrongs had failed to excite. Shelley sang with self-consuming energy in strains of the highest poetry, and assailed every institution and belief with a vehemence that had no particle of bitterness. The "Edinburgh Review" originated with men of another class of mind. It was in November 1802 that the first number of that celebrated journal appeared—written by Jeffrey, Horner, Sidney Smith, and Dr. Thomas Browne, whose names indicate the variety of their subjects. Taylor, of Norwich, the precursor of German students, Henry Brougham, and Sir James Mackintosh, were shortly after added to its staff. Their success and partizan power soon excited to rivalry; of which the "Quarterly Review" and the "Eclectic" were the earliest forms. The former enlisted the pens of Gifford and Southey—the latter won literary celebrity from the splendid articles contributed by John Foster, who had made himself famous by the publication of his "Essays," and subsequently of "Popular Ignorance." Among political writers, Malthus, Bentham, and Cobbett, claim mention here. The first-named put forth, at the beginning of the century, that ill-famed book which, whatever its fallacies, and however revolting its conclusions, has the high merit of fairly placing before the thinking part of the community a branch of science supremely important to the public weal. Bentham originated a school in moral and political philosophy which, however defective in theory, has contributed greatly to human advancement. The impress of Cobbett's power is still upon the national mind. His thorough, intense nationality—his robust logic and fierce invective—his grave mistakes and stupid prejudices—unconquerable energy and perseverance, whether in self-education or in his public career—all contributed to his mighty influence. He unquestionably did more, by his Protean publications, to educate that mass of English radicalism which has borne up

against Tory absolutism and Whig finality, than any man of his age. If in the ranks of science we point only to Herschel, Dr. Jenner, and Sir Humphrey Davy, we indicate, at once, the triumphs that were made in physical knowledge, and the commencement of that application of the loftiest facts to humble uses, which made those discoveries as beneficial to the many as they were honourable to the illustrious few. If in painting and architecture no greater names stand forth than those of Wilkie and Nash, they suggest a reflection appropriate to this whole review—the painter sought his subjects in the scenes of home, the festivities, cares, and sorrows of the people; the architect employed his talent in adorning the capital of the British empire, in rearing habitations for the middle rather than monuments to the higher classes. The democratic and the utilitarian were on every side beginning to supplant the exclusive and the proud. If the example of the Court, latterly, was as vitiating to taste as corrupting to morals, the people were awakening to the maxim,

“’Tis use alone that sanctifies success,  
And splendour borrows all her rays from sense.”

There was rising in the higher circles of society, along with that religious earnestness which we have before described as a new element, a benevolent regard for the well-being of the poor, which, if it contented itself with the institution of Sunday-schools, Savings' Banks, and charitable societies, yet produced bolder thinking and larger sympathies in the next generation. There was also springing up among the educated, a kindly perception of the necessity and justice of diffusing knowledge among the labouring classes. And in every group of “the common people,” thus compassionated and cared for, there was one, at least, whose self-culture and self-respect, nourished by democratic convictions, and excited by the great events enacting around, seemed to stretch forth open hands, on behalf of his fellows, to all who would aid them;—prefiguring that fusion of all classes into one true brotherhood, which we verily believe is nearer to-day, in 1851, than in 1815—as verily as we believe that the sun and earth have fulfilled through that interval their appointed journeys, if without haste, yet without pause.

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## PERIOD THE SECOND.—1815 to 1830.

### CHAPTER I.

THE WORLD AT PEACE—THE SETTLEMENT OF EUROPE BY THE CONGRESS OF VIENNA—FRANCE—HOLLAND AND THE NETHERLANDS—RUSSIA AND PRUSSIA—THE GERMAN CONFEDERATION—SPAIN AND PORTUGAL—SWITZERLAND—ITALY—SICILY AND NAPLES—THE SPIRIT AND WORKING OF THE RESTORED REGIME.

"THE world was at peace"—that is, kings were no longer in open hostility with kings. They were feasting at each other's boards, while their armies were plodding homeward and their people remingling like parted waters. The secret treaty of February was suppressed. Nothing remained but to carry out the principles of that of June—to settle Europe, and to govern its respective states, in the spirit of that famous Alexandrine declaration which we have already listened to with astonished incredulity. The twenty years' war of nations had ceased—that of classes, opinions, interests, was at once resumed.

That we may pursue without interruption the troubled stream of our own English politics, let us observe here, with careful distinctness, the arrangements effected in pursuance of the treaty of the Congress of Vienna.

First, as to France. "Indemnities for the past and securities for the future," was the principle on which she was treated by the allies. Seven hundred millions of francs were exacted by the great powers as her penalty for having put them a second time to the trouble of enthroning the Bourbons; and about as much more in separate compensations to the lesser states. Large as the amount sounds, it was less than half the sum which our Chancellor of the Exchequer raised by loan and extra taxes in 1814-15: victory was far more expensive to us than crushing defeat to France. An army of occupation—a hundred and fifty thousand strong—the command of which was given to Wellington, was to garrison her fortresses, and be maintained at her expense, for five years. No further cession of territory was claimed; the indemnity was to be paid by instalments; but the works of art taken from Italy and Germany were to be returned: so that, altogether, her terms were rather degrading than burdensome. She was still a noble kingdom. Thirty millions of subjects were left to her, of the fifty or sixty millions over whom Napoleon dominated.

There were then thirty-two millions of people to be provided by the Congress with new boundaries and new governments. The five millions inhabit-

ing Holland and the Low Countries were compacted into the kingdom of the Netherlands, under William of Orange; in spite of the fact that they were two races, with ineradicable differences, which forced in 1830 the recognition of Belgic independence. But it was wanted to establish a strong frontier between France and North Germany; so the Flemings were consolidated with the Dutch, and England gave up her share of the indemnity (four or five millions sterling) that the Prince of Orange might repair his ruined fortresses.

The provinces on the left of the Rhine, which France had taken from the German empire under her First Consul, were given to Prussia, with those which she surrendered at the peace of Tilsit, half of Saxony, and a share of the Duchy of Warsaw, containing a million of Polish subjects—the remainder Russia annexed, with the gift of a constitution that was not made to live. Russia also gained Finland, to compensate Sweden for which she was confirmed in the possession of Norway, to which she had forced Denmark to agree in the early part of the previous year.

The re-distribution of the German states it is difficult to make intelligible. The petty princes and counts "mediatized" by Napoleon were permitted to retain their status. The Rhenish Confederation was also maintained, instead of reviving the old Germanic empire. Thirty-nine states constituted this celebrated pact—Austria, Prussia, Bavaria, Saxony, Hanover, Wurtemberg, Baden, the Electorate of Hesse, Darmstadt, Holstein (represented by its Duke, the King of Denmark, who was permitted to retain Schleswig, though closely connected, socially with Holstein, and as eager to join the Confederation; whence the struggle that is pending while we write), Luxembourg (giving a place among the German princes to its Duke, the King of the Netherlands), with a number of petty dukedoms, and the free towns of Lubeck, Frankfort-on-the-Maine, Bremen, and Hamburg. In the Diet, or parliament of the representatives of these states, which was to sit in permanence at Frankfort, the eleven states we have mentioned were to have one vote each; the secondary states a half or a fourth of a vote each; all the free towns, one—making in all seventeen votes. On constitutional questions a new arrangement, called the plenum, was to prevail—the six states of the highest rank were to have four votes each, three dukedoms two each, and all the remaining princes one each; thus further increasing the influence of the great powers. Austria, besides, was to be permanent president of the Diet. On fundamental matters, unanimity was required. The members of the Confederation bound themselves to form no foreign alliances against the body, or against any one or more of its members. The fortresses of Luxembourg, Mayence, and Landau, were taken possession of as the common property of the Confederation, and garrisoned by its troops.



Spain and Portugal were restored to their former monarchs, without change of boundary, and with the addition of constitutions. Switzerland remained a confederation of twenty-two cantons; regaining with her lost members, Jesuitism and oligarchy. Austria reassumed the iron crown of Lombardy, with the added gem of long-coveted Venice; besides Dalmatia, the Tyrol, and all that she had lost by successive treaties with Napoleon. Tuscany, Parma, Modena, and Placentia, were restored to the different scions of the House of Hapsburg. The kingdom of Sardinia reappeared, enlarged and strengthened by the annexation of the ancient republic of Genoa. To complete the dissipation of the vision of Italian independence, Naples was restored to its Bourbon king, Ferdinand. For some years that royal voluptuary, and his fury of a wife, the sister of Maria Antoinette, with their children and son-in-law, Louis Philippe, had reigned in Sicily alone; and there only by the protection of British forces, and the aid of an annual British subsidy of three or four hundred thousand pounds. In 1811, Lord William Bentinck was sent as envoy extraordinary and commander-in-chief to this court of Palermo; and it was discovered that her Sicilian Majesty, Carolina, was plotting with Napoleon for the surrender of the British forces. Her subsidy was stopped, a number of her agents seized, and eventually a constitution, modelled with ludicrous exactness upon our own, imposed upon the royal family; as much to restrain the treachery of the Queen as to gratify the patriotic and popular demands. Louis Philippe, after playing fast and loose with the Sicilian liberals for some time, took himself off; and Ferdinand had no sooner got rid of his unwelcome protectors, than he revoked the constitution by a decree, and permitted Carolina to glut her womanly vengeance; which obliged us English to interfere, and insist on her retirement. Still Murat held Naples, and it would have been difficult to dislodge him, had he not struck, with premature impetuosity, on behalf of his old master, on learning the escape from Elba. Then his banner of "*L'Indipendenza dell' Italia*" was unfurled in vain. Lord William Bentinck had hoisted the same delusive flag; but, alas for his sincerity! hoisted it beside the black banner of Austrian despotism. Ferdinand was restored to his double kingdom; and the Pope being re-seated in St. Peter's chair, Italy was again prostrate beneath the feet of king and priest.

As was, indeed, all Europe. The arrangement we have thus explained was the completest restoration of despotism conceivable; and the most monstrous wrong ever perpetrated by a conspiracy of rulers upon their subjects. There was not a popular interest consulted—not a promise redeemed—not a race liberated—in this famous settlement. The people of the continent—the landwehr of Prussia, the students of Germany, the Tyrolese, the Lithuanian peasants, the patriots of the peninsula and of Italy—who had risen when they found that Napoleon, the chastiser of

their kings, had become also their own enemy—these brave and generous people were everywhere the subject of profound and bitter disappointment. They, and the lands from which they had chased the conqueror, were lotted out among the members of two or three families; and for the one great despot, who might have ruled them well, was substituted a multitude of little tyrants. One's pen seems to grow hot with indignation as it traces the results of this gigantic imposition. To descend to particulars.—France seemed delivered over to little and evil souls. Talleyrand was displaced from the cabinet of the sovereign he had raised from degradation, to make room for a Russian nominee. The personal clemency of Louis did not restrain the vengeance of his relatives. Ney, Labédoyère, and Lavalette, were the principal of those marked for death. The latter escaped through the heroism of his wife, and the chivalry of two British officers. Labédoyère and Ney were shot—in spite of the appeal made by the latter to the military convention for the surrender of Paris, and to the personal generosity of Wellington; on whose fame it is an indelible blot, that that appeal was made in vain. The charter, substantially the constitution of 1789, was accepted by the King, and observed with tolerable fidelity. The foreign aspect of his reign was such, that at the Congress of Aix-la-Chapelle, held in the autumn of 1818, the allied powers withdrew their army of occupation, though only three out of the five years had expired.—In Spain, Ferdinand entered with such malignant alacrity upon his work of revenge, suppressing the Cortes, and imprisoning its members, that Wellington interfered to secure a modified constitution, though not to prevent the re-establishment of the Inquisition.—In Italy, Murat fell a victim to his own wrong-headedness, and the fury of his successful enemies. Madly attempting the recovery of his kingdom, he was fallen upon, stabbed, shot, and tortured by his captors, and executed by order of Ferdinand of Naples. Liberals received even worse treatment than Bonapartists. Whoever were suspected of desiring a constitution—even though they had invited the return of Ferdinand—were subjected to surveillance, exile, imprisonment, or death. The Carbonari—an extensive secret association, aiming at the independence of Italy, or at least its constitutional government—it was determined to suppress; but in proportion to the tyranny exercised, the more widely did they extend, under different names, and affiliated with the secret association of the Guelpha, in the Papal states.—One of the articles of the German Confederation expressly declared, “each of the Confederate States will grant a constitution to the people;” another, placed all Christian sects on an equality; and a third, guaranteed the freedom of the press. These solemn engagements were flagrantly violated. Austria and Prussia, it need scarcely be said, gave no constitution. The lesser states delayed as long as possible,

or promulgated systems which might be characterised, as was that of Nassau, as "a model of despotism under a constitutional form." This was granted as early as September, 1814. That of the Netherlands was established in 1815, and conferred such privileges upon the Dutch as at once estranged the Belgians. The King of Wurtemberg proffered, in the same year, a charter which the Estates rejected, and the struggle that ensued was protracted till 1819. William of Hesse Cassel returned to his ancestral dominion with the saying, "I have slept during the last seven years;" and, true to the avowal, insisted on replacing everything on its ancient footing, even to the wearing of hair-powder and queues. His avarice was yet greater than his arbitrariness; and having resold the lands disposed of by King Jerome, without compensating the holders, and compelled his subjects to pay the debts of his son (of whom more anon) to the amount of two hundred thousand rix-dollars, he offered to sell a constitution to the Estates for four million rix-dollars. These are but specimens of the working of the federal system. They indicate what prevailed throughout central Europe up to 1819 and '20, when the Congress of Verona re-edited the work of 1814 and '16. Everywhere a war of extermination was carried on against the patriotic party. The statesmen who possessed popular confidence, were superseded by men of the old régime. Every newspaper of a democratic tendency was silenced—even the "Rhenish Mercury," which had been the trumpet tongue of Teutonic resistance to French autocracy. The Universities and the "Tubengund," or "League of Virtue"—a society similar to the Carbonari—of which Körner and Lutzow were members, among whom, says Richter, lay "the *idea* of the war—a universal enthusiasm elevated to a noble self-consciousness—the conviction that in the nature of things, no power merely military, no cunning of the most refined despotism, can, in the long run, triumph over native freedom of thought and tried force of will"—these noble institutions, comprising the venerable and the youthful genius of Germany, were mercilessly attacked. Many who had distinguished themselves in patriotic song and fight, were immured in dungeons as traitors and rebels. The students held great gatherings in October, 1817, to celebrate the third centenary of the Reformation; committed to the flames, as Luther did the Pope's bull, a number of servile works, "filled with anger that the same reformation required of the Church by Luther should be sanctioned, but at the same time refused, by the State;" and hoisted for the first time the German tricolor—black, red, and yellow—which we shall see hereafter uplifted by kings, and again proscribed as a traitorous symbol. These proceedings were made the subject of formal complaint to the Congress of Aix-la-Chapelle, by the Czar's minister. Kotzebue, the Russian literateur, resident at Mannheim, published a weekly paper, filled with ridicule and denunciation of the patriotic spirit, and kept up secret

communications with St. Petersburg. The discovery of this so inflamed the students, that one of them, named Sand, "noted for piety and industry," fanatically resolved on the destruction of this supposed enemy of the country. He accomplished his frenzied purpose in 1819, and was beheaded in the following year. What the general results of his fatal delusion were, we shall see when we arrive, in the order of narration, at that period—which it will be found of advantage thus to have anticipated.

And how were these deeds of the Holy Alliance regarded in England? Not, it must be confessed, with the general detestation they deserved. The people were not at first sensible of the deep and lasting disgrace incurred by the statesmen of England in lending her name and forces to the vilest despotism. A party there assuredly was, who protested that France should be left to the free choice of her own government; that the allied sovereigns, and not the re-elected Emperor, were the disturbers of the peace of Europe—who, much as they hated his crimes, and deplored the perversion of his noble powers, mingled contempt with aversion for the meanness and cruelty which deported him to Helena—who bewailed that the diplomatists of Protestant, constitutional England, had fastened on the continent the Inquisition, Jesuitism, and the Bourbons—and who foresaw, in the Rhenish Confederation, the artful enslavement of Germany for another generation. Grey and Holland in the one House, Brougham, Romilly, and Horner in the other, gave utterance to these sentiments with a distinctness and fervour that gained them honour beyond the power of subsequent mistakes and faults to cast away. Whitbread was foremost in the expression of honest scorn, but perished by his own hand, a few days after the battle of Waterloo—Canning would have been, but that he had been degraded and silenced. His known necessities prompted the offer, and permitted the acceptance, of a mission to Lisbon, in the early part of 1814, which replenished his means but destroyed his independence; and in June, 1816, he joined the Ministry. To him it was given, in after days, to repair, to carry to a noble height, his tarnished reputation for a patriotic and liberty-loving spirit. We shall see him, after the Congress of Verona, partially, at least, removing from the national escutcheon the deep stain put upon it by Castlereagh at the Congress of Vienna. We shall see a revival of that ancient English spirit which, under Cromwell, made this island the terror of foreign tyrants, and the refuge of their escaped victims; and which to-day gives promise, by its sympathy with the strugglers of Hungary and Italy, of Holstein and Hesse Cassel, to unite ere long with liberated Europe in solemnly consuming, like Luther and the students, the parchment fetters which the kings of 1815 bound upon the limbs and soul of humanity and upon the future.

## CHAPTER II.

THE TRANSITION, THE PLAGUE OF PLENTY—HOW THE CORN-LAW OF 1815 WAS CARRIED—PROPHETIC PROTEST AGAINST THE ENACTMENT OF SCARCITY—ITS SPEEDY ILLUSTRATION—IGNORANT IMPATIENCE OF TAXATION—ABOLITION OF THE INCOME-TAX—ROYAL PROFLIGACY—MARRIAGE OF THE PRINCESS CHARLOTTE TO PRINCE LEOPOLD.

SOME excuse for the indifference of the English people to the political fate of their continental brethren, is to be found in the severity of their own "transition from war to peace"—a phrase invented by Lord Castlereagh, at once to account for and solace their sufferings. The universal rejoicings over the return of peace had not subsided, when the bitter discovery began to be made, that peace did not necessarily bring with it the blessings of plenty and cheapness—or, what was more singular and melancholy, that to a large, and the most powerful, class of the community, plenty and cheapness were the very reverse of blessings. So early as 1813, the sight of a bountiful harvest excited apprehensions, in the agricultural mind, for the maintenance of the prices to which the agricultural interest had fully accustomed itself; and the nearer prospect of open markets raised that apprehension to determined self-defence. A select committee of the House of Commons reported, that while the export duty of 1s. per quarter, imposed on wheat by the corn-law of 1670, might with safety be rescinded, the prohibitory duty on importation, which was fixed by the same law at 80s. per quarter, should be carried up to 105s. 2d. per quarter! It was subsequently agreed, that wheat at 84s. should be admitted on the payment of 2s. 6d. per quarter. There were numerous petitions against this proposed perpetuation of war prices—the populace had gazed and shouted at the illuminated devices of a large loaf and a full pot of beer; and their disappointment was ready to vent itself in violence;—so the positive enactment of the measure was permitted to stand over till the session of 1815. The landlords, urged on by their excited tenants, would then put up with no procrastination. Shiploads of French corn and fruit, of Dutch butter and cheese, with herds of cattle and flocks of poultry, were at hand, waiting only till English wheat, now at 60s., should rise to 66s., and realize that mysterious danger, open ports. The invasion of food was met as would have been an armed insurrection, or any emergency that called for repressive promptitude. The sliding-scale corn-law of 1815—fixing 80s. as the lowest point at which importation could take place—was hurriedly carried by large majorities, with little discussion, in the face of earnest petitions from the commercial

and manufacturing towns, and, literally, with the Houses surrounded by soldiery.

It would be unjust to represent these proceedings as the result of unmixed selfishness on the one side, or of enlightened foresight on the other. The agricultural party had plausible reasons for alarm, and the substantial justice of their demands was conceded by the leaders of the economists; and while merchants and manufacturers were as tenacious of protection on their own behalf as hostile to its increase to the agriculturists, there was a band of wealthy landowners and eminent statesmen who protested against sacrificing the interests of all classes, and of futurity, to the exigency of a class and of an hour. If the plutocracy of London and Lancashire were dissatisfied at all with Castlereagh's pacification, it was that he had exacted from the continental powers no commercial treaties in favour of importations from England;—they would almost have armed their working people had our ports been as open in 1814 to French silk as to French corn. Huskisson was not then the favourite of Liverpool, or his free-trade notions were not developed. Mercantile men were but beginning to learn that trade between nations must always be, substantially, what it is with individuals in its primary stage, namely, barter; that the exports of a country cannot long be paid for in cash, nor must greatly exceed its imports. Their resistance to the law of 1815 rested on the narrow basis of a supposed hostility between their interest and the agricultural; and the dim perception that high prices of food involve high cost of production, either as wages or poor-rates. Their champion, Mr. Brougham, was one of those who consented to the law as "politic, or, at the least, as a palliative; as the means of carrying the country through difficulties of temporary pressure." Sir Henry Parnell "had always avowed himself the friend of free-trade;" but war prices constituted English corn an exception to the general principle. Mr. Huskisson was, as required by his stricter profession of political philosophy, more exact in his exposition of the "whole of our commercial and economical system as one of artificial expedients;"—so long as our commerce and manufactures were encouraged and forced by protection, by bounties and restraints, he saw no reason why corn should form an exception to the general system. Mr. Horner and his knot of "convertible" economists, bent on keeping the government to the letter of its bond, to resume cash payments with the cessation of war, conceded the demand of the agriculturists for protection from the fall of prices that must inevitably follow; and the country party, it was understood, would support them in return—eager as were landlords to receive their rents in a currency that would pass without depreciation in the continental cities, to which there was a rush of pleasure-seekers. The agriculturists got their protection at once—the economists had to wait for the realisation of their crotchet till 1819.

Mr. Baring (afterwards Lord Ashburton) was one of the few who contended that "steady prices were never produced by restriction"—that bread would be high or low, according as there was a good or bad harvest—and that as the whole of England was to any particular county in this particular, so was the whole of Europe to England. Grey, Grenville, and Wellesley, Buckingham, Carlisle, Devonshire, and Spencer, placed upon the journals of the Upper House a protest, which, embodying sentiments now familiar and almost undisputed, should be quoted as a singular instance of sagacity and foresight—as the courageous and disinterested expression of unpopular truths, since verified by bitter experience :—"We cannot persuade ourselves that this law will ever contribute to produce plenty, cheapness, or steadiness of price. So long as it operates at all, its effects must be the opposite of these. Monopoly is the parent of scarcity, of dearness, and of uncertainty. To cut off any of the sources of supply can only tend to lessen its abundance; to close against ourselves the cheapest market for any commodity, must enhance the price at which we purchase it; and to confine the consumer of corn to the produce of his own country, is to refuse to ourselves the benefit of that provision which Providence itself has made for equalising to man the variations of season and of climate."

The prophetic wisdom of these admirable sentences was to receive almost instant proof. Not a year had elapsed before Mr. Western, the spokesman of the agricultural interest, again appeared at the table of the House, to demand further increase of protection, and the remission of peculiar burdens—to demand protection even from itself. That the landed interest was still in distress, might have been gathered from the omission of its name in the Prince Regent's speech which was bold enough to describe other interests as prosperous—but it was now in distress from the redundant supply "created chiefly by the produce of our own agriculture." From this there could be no protection but at the direct expense of the rest of the community. It was demanded, therefore, that so much of the act of 1815 be repealed as permitted the warehousing of foreign corn (even precautions against scarcity were now regarded with jealousy!) and that the government advance loans of money to such individuals as were inclined to buy up our native produce! These audacious proposals were received with respectful attention even by those who were as independent of the landed interest as any could be, while other interests were almost unrepresented in Parliament. That they were not carried, was simply owing to the diversion created by Ministers in surrendering the property and malt taxes—the most obnoxious of the war taxes, and the most obviously burthensome to those who derived revenue or subsistence from the soil.

The surrender of the income and malt taxes came about on this wise.—The Prince Regent's speech modified the customary allusion to economy in

the preparation of estimates, "so far as consistent with the public requirements," with the unusual addenda, "and with that station which we occupy in Europe." This was the first authoritative hint of a policy novel to English governments. Our insular position had always been deemed adequate to our security, and a reason for avoiding unnecessary interference with continental politics;—now we were to take our place among the military powers of Europe, and keep an immense army on foot within our sea-girt shores for the maintenance of treaties between Austria and Prussia. In the Lords, no amendment was moved to the address. In the Commons, it was attempted, by an amendment of which Lord John Russell was the seconder (he had entered the House in 1813, as member for Tavistock), to declare the country in a state of "unexampled domestic embarrassment," and to pledge the House to careful revision and rigid economy. Presently, the foreign treaties were presented—with the important exceptions of the Holy Alliance declaration, and the secret convention of February, 1815; the former was refused because its object was confined to the contracting parties—the latter, because it was a merely historical document. But before the debate on these treaties came on, the ministerial intentions as to finance and the military establishment were known. A hundred and fifty thousand men were to be maintained, and the income-tax was to be reduced from ten to five per cent., instead of being entirely taken off, as only half of the fourteen millions it annually yielded could be spared. The defence of these measures was self-damaging in the extreme, and aggravated distaste into disgust. The army estimates, Lord Castlereagh justified by foreign example; and opposition to his colleague's financial project, this unfortunate phrase-maker described as "an ignorant impatience to be relieved from the pressure of taxation." This offensive language did more than the scheme it defended to produce an anti-ministerial reaction, which the Whig leaders took care to direct. They had now multitudinous echoes to their depreciation of "the settled system to raise this country into a military power." Lord Grenville moved an amendment in the Lords, and Lord Milton in the Commons, on the resolutions approving the treaties; but ministers triumphed, by a majority, in the former, of sixty-four, and in the latter, of a hundred and sixty-three. The rising tide of opposition to a perpetuated income-tax was skilfully guided by Messrs. Brougham and Baring, respectively the advocate and representative of the mercantile interest. As soon as the intention of the Government was known, two or three meetings were held, and their petitions presented. Ministers foreboded that these drops might be the precursors of a storm, and thought to escape by haste. A two days' notice was given of the introduction of the bill, but Mr. Brougham threatened to interpose all the forms of the House, and Ministers conceded a week's delay. Before the end of the week the country was fairly aroused.



The corporations of London and the great cities petitioned, and their wards and parishes did the same. The counties followed with alacrity, and drew after them every town-hall and market-table. From time to time, for six weeks, the bill was delayed, and petitions kept pouring in; the Opposition making nearly every batch the pretext for speech, till the Ministry were driven from their haughty silence. Then began a debate of unexampled interest. The representatives of nearly every class and party were against the ministry. Wilberforce enunciated it as a principle, that "war and income-tax are wedded together;" and Sir William Curtis, a city representative, added the matter-of-fact comment—"He was present in the House when the tax was first proposed, and he heard Mr. Pitt declare it should be a war tax only, and should positively cease on the restoration of peace." The division came off on the 18th of March, and the Opposition triumphed by a majority of thirty-seven. The ministers took a course for which "profligate" would scarcely be too strong an epithet. They not only consented to give up the income-tax, but volunteered the surrender of the extra malt duty, which yielded nearly three millions a-year—Lord Castlereagh declaring that a loan must be effected, and that it was "a matter of indifference whether they took a loan of six or eight millions."

This insolent "indifference" to the burdens of the people had its sanction and example in the highest place of the kingdom. The Prince Regent was displaying at this time an indolent neglect of even the routine requirements of his station, and a costly voluptuousness, that provoked and justified the severest censures and most ignoble comparisons. He consumed his days in sloth and his nights in debauchery. To the sensualism of his house he had added a vicious semblance of taste, but deducted the physical virtues of courage and healthy industry. There are men now living who then dared, in public speech and print, to ridicule the effeminacy and reprobate the wickedness of this yet uncrowned king. Leigh Hunt, Thomas Moore, and Henry Brougham, are the chief of these. The former two lashed him with the satire of prose and verse,—with a scourge of small cords that was felt on the bloated carcase in which personal vanity survived all manly and kingly pride. The "fat Adonis" and "royal dandy" were epithets that were felt and resented when comparisons with Tiberius and Commodus had no sting. It was Brougham who ventured on these higher flights, and incurred the coldness of timid friends and Whig place-hunters for his honesty. It was in a debate on a motion censuring the recent increase of a subordinate ministerial salary, that he launched an invective which lost none of its point from taking the plural number. He carried up his description of official extravagance to those who oppressed and insulted the nation by successive acts of enormous wastefulness, surrounded themselves with tawdry

splendours, associated with the most profligate of human beings, and "could not suspend for a moment their thoughtless amusements to end the sad suspense between life and death." This last allusion was to a circumstance so appalling in its barbarity that one cannot recall it without a blush for our fathers, that their laws should have furnished occasion for the heartlessness of their prince. There were then (March 18th) fifty-eight persons in Newgate under sentence of death—many of whom had been there three months—their "sad suspense" prolonged by the indisposition of the Regent to come up from Brighton to London! Yet this bitter satire on constitutional monarchy was permitted by his ministers, the really responsible rulers of the nation, to exceed the civil list by half a million. The annual royal grant was £800,000—in 1815, the royal expenditure was £1,480,000. The yearly deficiency had been made up from what are called *Droits* of the Crown and of the Admiralty—remnants of the old hereditary revenues compounded for after the Revolution of 1688—and by parliamentary grants. In the year now under review, there was again a debt of £277,000; and the Ministry were induced, probably to their own comfort, to get passed a law investing the management of those "rights" in responsible hands, that Parliament might at least know what it annually paid for the blessing of government by the illustrious House of Brunswick.

We have here all the elements but one of national trouble—that, namely, of sedition—and that, one which could not be absent, except the natural connexion of things, the chain of cause and effect, were broken; than which we can more easily believe that history falsifies by huge omissions. In the East, the passive, dreamy East, where men have no sense of individual rights, and are slow to resent public wrongs, visions of plenty overcast by the arbitrary imposition of dearth, flagrant selfishness in a favoured class, and profligate imbecility in the reigning head, produce conspiracy and revolt—in the West, where traditions of liberty and dim notions of justice are never absent from the popular mind, seditions, riots, perhaps a revolution. The eternal necessities were not unfaithful in the years of which we write. Discontent brooded heavily over the thickset habitations of poverty—sedition was sown by hands that refused the torch and dagger—riot here and there brandished its weapons at the bidding of fanaticism, the goading of want, and the incitement of treachery—but the revolution was to be accomplished only with "the process of the suns."

Before entering on the sable-margined chapter that must be devoted to the sorrows and strugglings of our "poor blind Samson," the people, in 1816 and '17—and to relieve, as doth a closing gleam of sunshine a gloomy day, this dismal record of human selfishness, whether in the form of royal vices or class antagonisms—let us note that the Princess Charlotte was married, on the 2nd of May, to Prince Leopold of Saxe Coburg. The

union was one of affection—not without a dash of the romantic in its history. Its expenses were provided for with a profuse liberality—an annual settlement of £60,000, with a reversion of £50,000 to the Prince, should he survive. And yet the unanimity of Parliament was a tolerable representation of public feeling. There was not an English voice but invoked blessings on a youthful pair, whose rank made conspicuous attributes the most common and the most delightful to our nature. A generous people consented to see in this alliance only the consummation of hopes beautiful in every rank of life, and the pledge of such benefits as personal worth could infuse into the highest institution of the State. Who could foresee—who could wish to remember the possibility—that another, and more solemn, lesson on the equality of mortals, would within twelve months be read out to the world, in the destruction at one blow of that private felicity and those public hopes? How much of our happiness is dependent on our ignorance of the future!

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### CHAPTER III.

OUR SOURCES OF INFORMATION—THE DIFFERENCES OF 1816—PARLIAMENTARY AND SOCIAL REFORMERS—SPA-FIELDS AND SNOW-HILL—ASSAULT ON THE PRINCE REGENT—PRETENDED CONSPIRACY—SUSPENSION OF THE CONSTITUTION—MANCHESTER BLANKET MEETING—DERBYSHIRE INSURRECTION—EXPOSURE OF THE SPY SYSTEM—THE PRESS AND THE JUST-BOX.

THE radical reformers and working men of 1816 and '17 are fortunate in their historians. Theretofore they had to put up with the ignorant or interested misrepresentations of party annalists. Wat Tyler and Robin of Redesdale had no clerical hand to vindicate them with posterity. The great popular heavings of which those names are to us the symbols, and little more, are commemorated in legends, serve as the background of romances, are curtly recorded by courtly chroniclers, and philosophized upon by modern historians. But the people of this latter day furnished from their own ranks faithful and friendly narrators, who committed their cause to "the immortal custody of the press." William Cobbett and Samuel Bamford supply us with very necessary correctives to royal speeches and the reports of secret committees. The writings of the former, powerfully influential on his own age, are an invaluable mine of historical information to this. The weaver-poet Bamford's "Life of a Radical," affords invaluable insight into the classes among whom he moved, with occasional glimpses of parties with whom he was involuntarily brought into contact.

While we write, an important addition to these and similar sources of information has been made by Mr. Archibald Prentice, in his "Historical Sketches and Personal Recollections of Manchester."

The Prince Regent re-opened Parliament on the 28th of January, 1817, with a speech which contained the following passage: "You will feel a just indignation at the attempts which have been made to take advantage of the distresses of the country, for the purpose of exciting a spirit of sedition and violence. I am too well convinced of the loyalty and good sense of the great body of his Majesty's subjects to believe them capable of being perverted by the arts employed to seduce them; but I am determined to omit no precautions for preserving the public peace, and for counteracting the designs of the disaffected."

The "distresses" alluded to had unhappily distinguished the eastern and midland counties during a great part of the previous year. Significantly enough, as that great agricultural calamity, cheap corn, receded, the condition of the peasantry became more intensely wretched. In January, wheat was 52s. a quarter—in May, 76s.—and in the autumn, 103s. Bankruptcies among the tenant-farmers, and disturbances among their labourers, kept pace with this ascent. Incendiary fires nightly blazed, threshing machines were destroyed, rude demands for a fixed price of bread and meat were more rudely enforced, houses and shops were pillaged, and at length encounters with the military ensued. Thirty-four unhappy men were sentenced to death, which five of them suffered. In September, a body of Staffordshire colliers, thrown out of work, set out for London, intending, in their ignorant simplicity, personally to petition the Prince Regent, and present him with a waggon of coals, which they drew along with them. Happily, with these a kind and prudent course was taken. They were met at St. Albans by a party of London magistrates and police, and persuaded to return, with payment for their coals, certificates of their perfect order, and some charitable contributions. Later in the year, the iron-workers of Merthyr assembled to the number of ten or twelve thousands, and put out the furnaces that yielded them only diminished employment. In the counties of Leicester and Nottingham, the Luddite insurrection broke out with greater violence and cunning than before—an instructive comment on the severity enacted in 1812, when frame-breaking was made a capital offence. Not only were factories and houses invaded, but incursions made into the adjacent villages by evidently organized parties. As the winter advanced, distress became more general and severe, though large benevolent efforts had been made to arrest its progress. Many novel and some absurd schemes for the profitable employment of the poor were suggested, but they came to nothing, beyond the establishment of soup kitchens; the administration of which in Glasgow had the ill fortune to provoke those it was intended to relieve, and a

lamentable riot ensued, which lasted two days. In Dundee, a hundred shops were plundered.

In none of these eruptions was it ever pretended that political causes were concerned. The Prince Regent's reference was to the revival, simultaneously with this suffering and tumult, of Parliamentary and social reform clubs. It was at William Cobbett, Lord Cochrane, Major Cartwright, and the meaner men who associated with them, that his inuendoes were pointed. Cobbett had become a power in the land. He had swung himself round from the anti-democratic prejudices which drove him from America, and those miscalled "patriotic" sentiments for which Windham declared he deserved a statue of gold, to the ardent advocacy of Parliamentary reform. His writings "suddenly became of great authority. They were read," says Samuel Bamford, "on nearly every cottage hearth in the manufacturing districts of South Lancashire, in those of Leicester, Derby, and Nottingham; also in many of the Scottish manufacturing towns. Their influence was speedily visible; he directed his readers to the true cause of their sufferings—misgovernment; and to its proper corrective—Parliamentary reform." The suddenness of his becoming a "great authority" was from the sudden reduction in the price of his publications. His "Weekly Register" had sold for some years at a shilling and a halfpenny. Now that he saw a special necessity for addressing "journeymen and labourers," he put out a twopenny sheet, which speedily found its way to "nearly every cottage hearth in the manufacturing districts." Lord Cochrane, a meritorious naval officer, had, at a great city meeting for the relief of the distressed, in which three royal dukes took part, carried an amendment on a motion which, taking the Government cue, blinked the necessity for retrenchment in the national expenditure, and ascribed the prevailing "stagnation of employment" to the transition from war to peace. Henry Hunt was a country squire, a man of generous feelings, greater vanity, and loud passionate speech. Among his associates and rivals were the two Watsons, father and son. A meeting at Spa-fields—a locality then not misnomered, but now without an acre of vacant ground—reveals the demagogue in the character of these men. Hunt and the Watsons drove to the ground in a chariot, with flags and a profusion of cockades, harangued the multitude from the carriage roof, and then were drawn away by the poor enraptured mob—who, as Balaam's ass crushed the foot of the prophet, "ran the chariot against a wall;" whereupon the orators got out and walked, as they should have done at first. A select few dined at a hotel, when one Castle gave a toast so infamous that he was threatened with expulsion; but was allowed to remain as he seemed to have fallen asleep. A few weeks later [December 2nd] Mr. Hunt was driving his tandem to the same rendezvous, but was met in Cheapside by Castle at the

head of a crowd. Castle would have had him turn back, with the assurance they were going to take possession of the Tower, which had been surrendered to their advanced posts an hour before. Hunt was not fool enough to believe this, even had he wished it; and went on to Spa-fields. The meeting had begun without him, and, indeed, before the appointed time. A knot of coadjutors, more energetic than welcome, had stationed themselves in a waggon, from which they harangued the multitude, with the dangerous accompaniment of arms and ammunition, and banners with the inscription, among others, "The brave soldiers are our friends." The elder Watson delivered a furious speech, which his son supplemented with the interrogatives and appeals of a madman. "If they will not give us what we want, shall we not take it?" "Yes," was the thundering response. "Will you go and take it? If I jump down, will you follow me and take it?" There was, doubtless, a large abatement from the unanimity of the reply; but the voice of excited passion rose louder than that of reason. Descending from his rostrum, the young fanatic seized a tricoloured flag, and a considerable portion of the crowd streamed off at his heels to take the Tower. Passing a gunsmith's shop upon Snow-hill, Watson entered, demanding arms for his followers. A gentleman who remonstrated was instantly shot by him. As instantly himself smitten with regret and alarm, the madman, who was a surgeon, examined and dressed the wound, which was not fatal. The rabble, many of them now carrying firearms, marched into the city, till they reached the Royal Exchange, when the Lord Mayor (Matthew Wood) and Alderman (Sir James) Shaw, with highly honourable courage and promptitude, rushed out from the Mansion-house, and persuaded them to disperse, having, with the assistance of half-a-dozen constables, captured the most boisterous. The younger Watson escaped.

Such was the extent of the "attempts made to take advantage of the distresses of the country, for the purpose of exciting a spirit of sedition and violence." A curious comment upon the Regent's "just indignation," is supplied by the circumstance, that a week after the Snow-hill outrage, the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Common Council of London, adopted a petition for Parliamentary reform and financial retrenchment. The then heads of the municipality, it is true, were of the Liberal party; but no one accustomed to observe the habits of great commercial cities, will believe that the slightest sanction would be shown by its elect to an agitation that endangered the public peace, or put in antagonism the claims of liberty and law.

It happened, that as the Prince was returning from the ceremony in which he had thus spoken, he was assailed with expressions, more honest than polite, of the public feeling towards him; and one ruder hand threw a stone through the windows of the state-carriage. The "outrage" was one

of those trifles on which the policy of years is sometimes made to hinge. A message to the two Houses, magnifying the unlucky missile into an attempt on the royal life, interrupted the evening debates. A suitably-loyal reply was despatched, and the Houses adjourned. The seconder of the address in the Commons, in reply to the speech, had asserted that the demagogues and their acts would die of themselves. Unfortunately for his political foresight, or for the intentions of the Ministry he was supposed to represent, a changed tone was adopted by the Government. Sidmouth in the Upper, and Canning in the Lower House, declared that great bodies of the people were infected by a dangerous spirit of disaffection, to subdue which the strong hand of resistance to reform and restriction of privilege was alone equal. The Opposition took at once a decided tone; insisting on the imperative necessity of concession to the just demands of the people, which they embodied in amendments. The Ministerial answer to these proposals was, the intimation that in three days another message from the Prince Regent would be presented. The message came, with "papers containing information respecting certain practices, meetings, and combinations in the metropolis, and in different parts of the kingdom, evidently calculated to endanger the public tranquillity, to alienate the affections of his Majesty's subjects from his Majesty's person and government, and to bring into hatred and contempt the whole system of our laws and institutions." A secret committee was at once appointed in each House to investigate this important affirmation. On the 18th of February their reports were presented. They differed from each other in little more than the order of their statements. Both were occupied largely with the Spa-fields meeting—which they described as "the development of a traitorous conspiracy"—and with "certain societies or clubs, established in all parts of Great Britain," aiming, "under pretence of Parliamentary reform," at "nothing short of a revolution." The Lords' committee called for "further provision for the preservation of the public peace;" the Commons' declared "the utmost vigilance of Government, under the existing laws, inadequate to avert the dangers proved to exist." Four bills were immediately brought in, and hurried through Parliament by large majorities. The first enacted penalties for the attempted seduction of sailors and soldiers; the second hedged round with the punishments of treason the person of the Prince Regent; the third gave magistrates additional powers for the prevention of seditious meetings; and the fourth suspended the Habeas Corpus Act till the 1st of July—confering on the Executive the fearful power "to secure and detain such persons as his Majesty shall suspect are conspiring against his person or government."

These arbitrary measures produced their natural, perhaps their intended, result. We shall presently see the sources of the special and exclusive information on which they were grounded. Let us here take the statements

of a close and truthful observer, as to the nature of those "clubs and societies" on which such particular stress was laid. They were known chiefly as Hampden and as Spencean Clubs. The former aimed, it seems, exclusively at radical reform—the latter, taking their name from Spence, a Yorkshire schoolmaster, who had promulgated his plans at the beginning of the century, combined with this object the attainment of a common property in land, and other great social changes. Bamford, an operative silk-weaver of Middleton, in Lancashire, was secretary to one of the Hampden clubs. The members were content to call themselves "Reformers," without even the prefix "Radical." Their demands were limited to two out of the six points now generally adopted by democratic politicians—namely, manhood suffrage and annual Parliaments; and they contemplated the employment only of legal and peaceful means. "It was not," says Bamford, "until we became infested by spies, incendiaries, and their dupes—distracting, misleading and betraying—that physical force was mentioned among us." The societies fraternized with each other by means of delegates to sectional and central conferences. In January of 1817, Bamford attended, as delegate from his Middleton Club, a convention at the Crown and Anchor, London, over whose deliberations Major Cartwright presided, supported by Cobbett and Hunt. The shrewd Lancashire weaver's sketch of these and the other popular leaders—Burdett and Cochrane, to whom he was introduced—the aristocratic condescension and dignified vanity of one, the empty bluster of "orator Hunt," and the genuine cordiality of others—leave room for congratulation on the somewhat improved character of popular politicians. His descriptions of the less conspicuous scenes and humbler actors supply a yet more gratifying contrast to the meetings of working men in the present day. "They would generally be found," he says, "in a large room, an elevated seat being placed for the chairman. On first opening the door, the place seemed dimmed by a suffocating vapour of tobacco, curling from the cups of long pipes, and issuing from the mouths of the smokers, in clouds of abominable odour, like nothing in the world more than one of the unclean fogs of their streets (though the latter were certainly less offensive, and probably less hurtful). Every man would have his half-pint of porter before him; many would be speaking at once, and the hum and confusion would be such as gave an idea of there being more talkers than thinkers—more speakers than listeners. Presently 'Order' would be called, and comparative silence would ensue; a speaker, stranger or citizen, would be announced with much courtesy and compliment; 'Hear, hear!' would follow, with clapping of hands and knocking of knuckles on the tables till all the half-pints danced; then a speech, with compliments to some brother orator or popular statesman; next a resolution in favour of Parliamentary reform, and a speech to second it; an amend-



ment on some minor point would follow; then a seconding of that; a breach of order by some individual of warm temperament—half-a-dozen would rise to set him right—a dozen to put them down; and the vociferation and gesticulation would become loud and confounding.”

Bamford returned to Lancashire to find the evil seed sown by spies and incendiaries, and trodden in by the hoof of tyrannous enactments, already sprouting. Mitchell and Benbow, fellow-deputies to London, had cultivated there the intimacy of some of the unwise, and others of the more suspicious, section of Hampden and Spencean Clubbists. Hence seems to have resulted the famous Manchester Blanket Meeting, from which thousands of men were to have marched to London, each with a blanket strapped on his back, soldier fashion, and a petition sheet in his hand. On the 10th of March the meeting was held, but dispersed by cavalry, though not the slightest pretext appears to have been given for reading the Riot Act; and twenty-nine persons, who were on the hustings, were taken prisoners. Several hundred men had set out on their march. These were pursued by yeomanry and constables, overtaken near Stockport, and dispersed—not without unnecessary violence, several receiving sabre wounds, and an onlooking cottager a fatal bullet. About a hundred and eighty managed to gain Macclesfield, but were compelled to lie out all night, to avoid being committed to prison, as some were. A few reached Derby—“stopping where the Scotch rebels stopped in 1745.” Bamford records that the next day a man came to him proposing that, in consequence of the treatment which the Blanketeers had received, ‘a Moscow of Manchester’ should take place that very night. The weaver and his friends dismissed him with the assurance that he was the dupe of a designing villain. On the 28th, the magistrates, who had been in constant communication with the Home Office, announced the discovery of a conspiracy for the destruction of Manchester, as the signal for a general insurrection. The day before, about a dozen persons had been apprehended, and sent to London for private examination. Public inquiry beginning to be excited about their offence and fate, the reverend chairman of the bench of magistrates stated that on the trial of these men “purposes of the blackest atrocity must be disclosed;” but notwithstanding this positive official assurance, all the parties arrested were discharged, not only without trial, but without even an indictment having been preferred against them. Two men, it was observed, apprehended with the others, were immediately liberated. Bamford himself was one of seven who were arrested at the same time, sent to London, examined at the Home Office, and released on bail after a month’s confinement. Soon after his return to Middleton, he was called upon by an old man, a co-delegate, named Bacon, accompanied by a “decent-looking young man, dressed like a town

weaver." The old man talked of a great meeting in Yorkshire, which should "finish the boroughmongers at a blow," and inquired for a stranger who had lately been seen about Middleton, but whom Bamford disliked. Bamford warned him against hoping anything from force, but the old man was huffed, and took himself off. "Reader," adds Bamford, "this pertinacious old man was in a few weeks after, arraigned for high treason at Derby, and pleading guilty, was, with fourteen others, transported for life; whilst the young man, William Turner, was hung and beheaded, with the equally unfortunate Brandreth and Lulham." We are thus introduced to the most tragical portion of our present narrative. Brandreth was a framework-knitter, so poor as to receive parish relief, of extraordinary mental power and warm sensibilities, but without the judgment or caution necessary to control those otherwise perilous endowments. The keen and constant sight and sense of suffering, combined with political enthusiasm to make him the victim of an atrocious villain, and the deluder of many miserable men to destruction, while he imagined himself influenced only by conviction, and about to bless as widely as he desired. This man, invested with the title and power of "captain," held a sort of levee, at a public-house in the Derbyshire village of Pentridge, on Sunday, the 8th of June. Sitting there with a map in his hand, people came in and out, talking freely to him and each other of an approaching overthrow of the government. They agreed to meet the next night, and then march on Nottingham. Two special constables, who chanced to be in the room, cautioned the company to mind what they were saying; but were themselves deterred from giving information to the magistrates by a childish threat. The next night, the "captain" came out, urging men to accompany him, assuring them that the "countries, England, Ireland, and France, were to rise that night at ten o'clock;" and that "the northern clouds, men from the north, would come down and sweep all before them." "It would not be necessary to go further than Nottingham—London would be taken by that time." Some twenty men joined him. One man, a farm servant, he shot, on arms being refused him, saying on remonstrance it was his duty to shoot him. A hundred men were at last collected. Rain came down incessantly, but fifty more joined. Early in the morning, a party of soldiers sent out from Nottingham found but a party of sixty, who refused to form at "the captain's" word, and fled across the fields. A number of prisoners and arms were taken. Of those prisoners, tried at Derby, by special commission, in the following November, Brandreth, Lulham, and Turner, were executed; eleven were transported for life, four for fourteen years, and five imprisoned. Bamford impressively concludes his narrative of this "Derbyshire insurrection"—"That stranger (the Middleton stranger), that betrayer, reader, was—Oliver, the spy."

With the exception of this unhappy affair, the Government prosecutions succeeded only in harassing their victims; and recoiled upon Ministers with proofs of at least culpable credulity, and the odium of gratuitous cruelty. The Spa-fields "conspirators" were brought to trial in June—except the younger Watson, who had got safely off to America, after some very narrow escapes from detection; the officers searching the ship in which he had embarked, but failing to penetrate his disguise. The elder Watson was acquitted, after a seven days' trial; and as the evidence on which the jury refused to convict him applied to Hooper, Preston, and the other prisoners, they were discharged. A poor sailor, however, was convicted of the non-political offence of plundering the Snow-hill gunsmith's, and was hanged at his shop-door. The evidence given on the trial by Castles, with the exposure of his infamous character, was too extravagant for belief. The "conspirators" had appointed himself, Thistlewood, the two Watsons, and a limping workman named Preston, to the command of operations no less extensive than the capture of the Tower, the barricade of the bridges, and the seduction of the army. The latter was to have been effected, after the first salutary impression of terror, by the promise of a hundred guineas to each soldier from the national exchequer. A provisional government was to have been proclaimed so soon as the public offices had been captured; and to have included Sir Francis Burdett, the Lord Mayor, Lord Cochrane, Mr. Hunt, Major Cartwright, Citizen Gale Jones, and the five commandants above named. It came out, with irresistible force, that the informer himself was at the bottom of whatever was dangerous or deliberately treasonable in the projects of these Spencean clubbists. A similarly damaging *exposé* was made at the York trials, and in the House of Commons, respecting Oliver, the Government agent in the midland and northern counties. When, prior to the prorogation of Parliament, Ministers applied for a renewal of the Habeas Corpus Suspension Act, secret committees were appointed as before. Mr. Ponsonby, the leader of the Opposition in the lower House, sat on the Commons' committee, but opposed the renewal of the bill, which it was attempted to justify by their report; adding some damning particulars of Oliver's examination. Lord Castlereagh had acknowledged the employment of that worthy; "it was not an improper thing to send him down to see what was going on." But it was shown that he had not confined himself to observing and reporting. He admitted to the committee that he knew of no society in London acting with others in the country; yet went down as a London delegate, was received as such, and told the people London was ready to rise on the first movement. One of his dupes gave effect to this diabolical invention by putting it in the form of a precise assurance, that seventy-five thousand men could be relied upon from the east, and the same number from the

west, of the metropolis. We know from various and independent sources, that Oliver was busy in May and June, urging Lancashire reformers to attend a meeting of delegates in Yorkshire; and in such language as to excite in the reasonable suspicions of his real character, while it operated upon the less discreet as the strongest incentive to insurrection. The Yorkshire delegate meeting was represented by him to the sagacious and peaceful Radicals of Manchester and Leeds as a perfectly legal deliberation—to the ignorant and excited poor of the disturbed districts, as the nucleus of a great army. Hence poor Brandeth's insane talk of "clouds coming from the north," and of London being taken simultaneously with Nottingham. These circumstances, and Oliver's constant communication with the authorities, were discovered and published by Mr. Baines in his "*Leeds Mercury*," and subsequently brought before the House of Commons. They led even a man so moderate, and so likely to judge correctly, as Sir Samuel Romilly, to declare, that "he believed in his conscience the whole of the Derbyshire insurrection was the work of persons sent by Government." It was then alleged, and has frequently been repeated, by the apologists for Lord Sidmouth, that Oliver, and others of his miscreant tribe, was not, in the first instance, employed by the Government, but proffered his information; that his services were accepted from a desire to prevent the commission, not to encourage and betray the concoctors, of treasonable designs. Lord Sidmouth's instructions to Sir John Byng, the commander of the military employed, support this view; and all that is known of his lordship's personal character forbids the conclusion that he was prone to cruelty or baseness—Bamford, for instance, was quite mollified by the unexpected mildness of his demeanour and conduct. But whatever we concede to his lordship's heart is at the expense of his intellect, and to exonerate the man is to inculcate and debase the minister. He remains, in the blistering words of Henry Brougham, "the recorded dupe of the informer"—of "a cheat in fact and a murderer in anticipation"—"one who went about to ensnare that he might betray, and to corrupt that he might destroy." The same alternative may be presented in turn to each of his colleagues and supporters—the strong-headed, arbitrary Castlereagh, the brilliant but deeply-dishonoured Canning, the illustrious Wilberforce, the forgotten Lea Keck: these and their coadjutors must be adjudged, from facts elicited or implied by solemn judicial investigation, to have abandoned all the safeguards of justice and liberty for the gratification of tyrannical passions, or in a panic got up by men whose testimony moral sense revolts from receiving. It is impossible to give even the benefit of a doubt to some whom the Government of the day delighted to honour. The magistrates of Nottingham, for instance, were, by their own statement, in such close communication with Oliver, as that they must have known his double character, but refrained from acting on his information, when doing so

would have prevented even the attempt at insurrection ; while the furious zeal of squires and yeomanry had absolutely to be restrained by the military authorities. Thus it is whenever a Government attempts to rule by fear—to supersede the ordinary course of law, and suspend the constitutional rights of the subject. Its alarm *may* be real—it *may* be unconscious of despotic tendencies, and averse from the despicable arts of tyranny. But it betrays itself into the hands of villains when it proclaims that it no more has confidence in the people—becomes guilty and hateful in spite of its better self.

If the Government failed to provoke poverty and ignorance into armed encounter with its forces, and the cunning villany of its spies to entrap more than a few dozen of weavers and peasants, neither did it succeed in terrifying the public press into silence or servility. Bentham had instructed jurymen, that their oath did not require them to pronounce simply on the fact of publication, as judges were wont to lay down the law, in libel cases ; but that as indictments customarily charged the libel in question with falsehood as well as malice, they were bound, in conscience, to regard the defendant's plea of truthfulness ; and juries had come to act upon the instruction. The prosecution of Thomas Jonathan Wooler (the "Black Dwarf" of the Radical papers), for a libel on the Ministers, broke down ; and Cobbett had too much legal knowledge and self-possession to put his burly person within the net of the crown lawyers. Acting upon their advice, however, Lord Sidmouth addressed, on the 27th of March, a circular letter to the Lord-lieutenants of counties, desiring them to inform the justices of the peace, that "any magistrate might issue a warrant to apprehend a person charged before him upon oath with the publication of libels [blasphemous or seditious], and compel him to give bail to answer the charge." In vain Earl Grey and Sir Samuel Romilly protested against the extension of the power of receiving *ex officio* informations to the reverend and rustic dignitaries of the bench ; the submission of the most delicate questions affecting the liberty of individuals and the palladium of all liberties, to the most incompetent judges ; and the publication of Crown lawyers' opinion as that of legislative or high judicial decisions. Ministers were not content with their power to imprison political writers, as suspected and dangerous persons, under the Habeas Corpus Suspension Act. Accident might prevent its renewal, or the passage of an Indemnity Bill, in time to screen them from an appeal to the regular tribunals. If Cobbett was a special object of intended attack, the intention was defeated, or only negatively fulfilled. He set sail for America the day before Sidmouth's circular was issued ; suspending his publications for some months, and exciting by his flight the murmurs of some of his admirers. Certainly the egotism displayed in professing himself the

chief object of Government enmity, would have been better sustained by continuing to defy or endure it. "Lord Sidmouth," he says, in his valedictory address, "was 'sorry to say' that *I* had not written anything the law-officers could prosecute with any chance of success. . . . So that I could be sure of a trial of whatever sort, I would have run the risk. But against the absolute power of imprisonment, without even a hearing, for time unlimited, in any jail in the kingdom, without the use of pen, ink, and paper, and without any communication with any soul but the keeper; against such a power it would have been worse than madness to attempt to strive." What Cobbett apprehended and fled from, William Hone—a not less remarkable, though less influential and famous man—remained to suffer and triumph over. After an imprisonment of some months, he was brought to trial in the Court of King's Bench. The man and his three trials, on three consecutive days, are the subject of a piece of picture-writing by Mr. Charles Knight, so vivid and beautiful that it must have been sketched and coloured from personal recollection. "On the morning of the 18th of December there is a considerable crowd round the avenues of Guildhall. An obscure bookseller, a man of no substance or respectability in worldly eyes, is to be tried for libel. He vends his wares in a little shop in the Old Bailey, where there are, strangely mingled, twopenny political pamphlets, and old harmless folios that the poor publisher keeps for his especial reading, as he sits in his dingy back parlour. The door-keepers and officers of the court scarcely know what is going to happen; for the table within the bar has not the usual covering of crimson bags, but ever and anon a dingy boy arrives, with an armful of books of all ages and sizes, and the whole table is strewn with dusty and tattered volumes that the ushers are quite sure have no law within their mouldy covers. A middle-aged man,—a bland and smiling man,—with a half sad half merry twinkle in his eye,—a seedy man, to use an expressive word, whose black coat is wondrous brown and threadbare,—takes his place at the table, and begins to turn over the books which were his heralds." The charge against him was that of having parodied the Catechism, the Lord's Prayer, and the Ten Commandments, "thereby bringing the Christian religion into contempt"—his real offence, unscrupulous political satire, being kept out of sight. The case for the prosecution consisted mainly in reading the parodies complained of, the Attorney-general finding a ready proof of their baneful influence in the laughter they excited, even in that solemn presence. "Then the pale man in black rose, and with a faltering voice set forth the difficulty he had in addressing the court, and how his poverty prevented him obtaining counsel. And now he began to warm in the recital of what he thought his wrongs; his commitments, his hurried calls to plead, the expense of copies of information against him;—and as Mr.

Justice Abbott, with perfect gentleness, but with cold formality, interrupted him, the timid man, whom all thought would have mumbled forth a hasty defence, grew bolder and bolder, and in a short time had possession of his audience as if he were 'some well-graced actor,' who was there to receive the tribute of popular admiration." He professed himself a Christian, and denied that he had ever sought to bring religion into contempt. He set up a distinction between parodies in which the thing parodied was ridiculed, and those in which some other subject was rendered ludicrous. His parodies, he contended, were of the latter kind; and in illustration and defence of his position, he read and spoke for six hours. "The editor of 'Blackwood's Magazine' was a parodist,—he parodied a chapter of Ezekiel; Martin Luther was a parodist,—he parodied the first Psalm; Bishop Latimer was a parodist, and so was Dr. Boys, Dean of Canterbury; the author of the 'Rolliad' was a parodist, and so was Mr. Canning." The ingenious and undaunted defendant was rewarded with a verdict of acquittal. The next day, "the fiery Lord Chief Justice," Ellenborough, himself took the bench. This time the libel charged was a parody on the Church of England Litany. The same defence was pursued, with needful variations, in spite of the incessant interruptions of the judge; for seven hours Hone battled with his ermined prosecutor, and the jury responded to the imperative dictum of that high authority with "Not Guilty." The third day was conducted and ended like the second. Hone, exhausted in body, but undaunted in spirit, refused the offer of postponement, and took his trial for the publication of "The Sinecurist's Creed," a parody upon that of St. Athanasius. For eight hours he addressed the jury, rebuked the judge, and quoted Church authorities against the Athanasian Creed. "Even his lordship's father, the Bishop of Carlisle, he believed, took a similar view of the creed." Abashed and vanquished, at last, the fierce Ellenborough sued for pity—"For common delicacy forbear!" "O, my Lord, I shall certainly forbear." Hone had scarcely need then to "hope the jury would not be beseeched into a verdict of guilty." The charge was this time judicial, not vindictive; and the verdict was again for the defendant. The very next day, though a Sunday, Ellenborough wrote to Sidmouth expressing his wish to retire. That "frame of adamant and soul of fire" had quailed before "a man who, in the ordinary business of life, was incapable of enterprise and persevering exertion; who lived in the nooks and corners of his antiquarianism; who was one that even his old political opponents came to regard as a gentle and innocuous hunter after 'all such reading as was never read;' who, in a few years, gave up his politics altogether, and devoting himself to his old poetry and his old divinity, passed a quarter of a century after this conflict in peace with all mankind, and died the sub-editor of a religious journal" [the "Patriot"]. In

our admiration of Hone, we should not forget the faithful conscientiousness of his juries, by whom alone could his ingenuity and courage be made available for his own deliverance or the vindication of the liberty of the press. It is highly honourable to the citizens of London, that in that hour of universal excitement, three special panels refused to be swayed by the varied influences at the command of Government, or by their own probable aversion to the defendant's religious opinions; but "a true deliverance gave." Nor should we withhold an expression of grateful veneration to that simple institution which interposes "twelve men in a jury box," as a wall of defence, more impregnable than armies, between the power of the strongest Government and the rights of the meanest Englishman.

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## CHAPTER IV.

INDEMNITY ACCORDED TO MINISTERS—DEATH OF THE PRINCESS CHARLOTTE—ROYAL ALLIANCES AND PARLIAMENTARY PERVERSITY—ROMILLY AND CRIMINAL LAW REFORM—RETROSPECT OF THE PARLIAMENT OF 1813 TO 1815—MORTALITY AMONG CONTEMPORARY CELEBRITIES.

To complete the narrative of these turbulent proceedings, we may pass on at once to the speech of the Prince Regent at the assembling of Parliament [January 27th, 1818]. In that document, the Lords and Commons were congratulated on the restored tranquillity and general improvement of the country, the persevering vigilance of the magistracy, and the loyalty and good sense of the people. Not a word was said of the extraordinary means that had been employed to produce this supposed restoration and improvement. The Opposition, in both Houses, demanded, even before the debate on the Address, the cessation of supra-constitutional powers. Ministers cordially assented, and the repeal of the Habeas Corpus Suspension Act was carried in two days. In the debate on the Address, there was much bold speaking from the Opposition, but no amendment. Ministers anticipated criminatory motions by laying a "green bag" on the table of either House—papers, that is, on which secret committees were appointed to report. As those committees were composed almost exclusively of Government nominees, the nature of their reports was foreseen; and when that of the Commons' committee was proposed to be printed, Mr. Tierney characterised it as "a document absurd, contemptible, and ludicrous." A bill for indemnifying Ministers and their agents from the multitudinous actions for false imprisonment that might be apprehended, was carried through both Houses in two or three weeks by large majorities; but not till after debates of great vehemence, and frequent divisions. In the upper House, a long and vigorous protest was placed on the journals



by ten Whig peers; and in the lower, the passage of the bill was followed by several motions for inquiry, and for the consideration of petitions from parties aggrieved; among whom were Samuel Bamford, and some thirty other Lancashire men: their petitions were presented by Mr. G. Philips, and the motion grounded upon them received sixty-three votes against one hundred and sixty-two. Lords Milton and Folkestone (now Fitzwilliam and Radnor), Brougham, Romilly, Tierney, and Burdett, were opposed in these debates chiefly by Castlereagh, Canning, and Wilberforce. It is melancholy to find the latter two resisting every proposal even for inquiry—the one, by ridiculing the persons or complaints of the suitors for justice; and the other, from that amiable confidence in the good intentions of men in power, which is often as mischievous and unjust as the reckless adherence of partizans or the servility of place-hunters.

There was an allusion, also, in the speech from the throne, to an event which had excited unparalleled emotion in the public heart—the death of the Princess Charlotte. It was on the night of the fifth of November [1817] that the Cabinet ministers, and other officers of State, were assembled at Claremont-palace, to attend the birth of a heir presumptive to the British crown. The child was born dead—the mother died before six in the morning. The cry of anguish that broke from the husband and father, in a moment widowed and childless, was taken up on every hearth. Never did a nation so mourn before. All that was known of the Princess had commended her to the hearts of the people; and the more so, that whatever of excellence she possessed had grown up in opposition to one parent and in separation from the other. Men wept—men not given to weep at public sorrows, as men not given to praise royalty had praised; for they had but to glance on those they best loved, to make the loss their own. Even the beggar bound a bit of crape upon his tattered sleeve. Church bells tolled out the sad tidings, and preachers moralized with unwonted eloquence upon this going down of the sun at noon;—if of ten thousand funeral orations, but Hall's and Chalmers' survive, they show how deeply the noblest hearts and intellects were moved. Nor was it grief alone that was felt, but suspicion and anger. The foulest wickedness was imputed, and want of care considered proven;—and so intolerable was self-reproach or public odium to one, the chief physician, that he, in a few months, destroyed himself. And how did the father, the heirless monarch, bear the bereavement? Doubtless he fell upon the ground, and rent his clothes, and refused to be comforted; lay ill for some days, and suffered bloodletting; but presently he was said by an observer "to be more sulky than sad;" and "in little more than three months he had so far recovered both his health and spirits, as to be able, at a dinner given by the Prussian ambassador, to entertain the company with a song."

The old monarch, like Priam, had had many children (fifteen sons and daughters), but like the King of Troy was now threatened with the extinction of his race. Of the royal dukes, but three had married; and one of those, the Duke of Sussex, without the royal consent, and therefore unavailable for the succession. York was separated from his duchess—Clarence, Kent, and Cambridge, it was resolved in family council, should marry; and the Princess Elizabeth, the third daughter, though in her forty-eighth year. The lady took for a husband the Prince of Hesse Homburg; the Duke of Clarence the Princess Adelaide, etc., of Saxe Meiningen; Cambridge, the Princess Augusta, daughter of the Landgrave Frederic, and the niece of the Elector of Hesse; and Kent, the Princess Mary Louisa Victoria, daughter of the Duke of Saxe Coburg, widow of the Prince of Leiningen, and sister to Prince Leopold. The Duke of Cumberland had married, three years before, a German princess, divorced and widowed, niece to the Queen, but disliked by her majesty, and not received at court; and such was his unpopularity that Parliament had refused the additional £6,000 a-year asked for him by Ministers. Now it was asked for again, with an equal sum for the younger brothers, and £10,000 for the Duke of Clarence. The dotation to Cumberland was refused at once, and that to the Duke of Clarence reduced to £3,000. Of all these marriages, the Duke of Kent's only was popular; and that as much from the relationship of the bride to the deceased Princess, as from the Duke's personal character;—and it is remarkable that this alliance has supplied a sovereign so like in character as well as sex to her who was snatched from the nation's hope.

There was a reason for this unusual accordance between the House of Commons and the public mind—the Parliament was in its last session; and that, even when ministers and peers commanded a much greater proportion of the constituencies than at present, was a circumstance stimulating to independent and popular action. The royal marriages was not the only question on which the Government was thwarted. One step was made towards municipal reform in the adoption, without division, of a motion by Lord Archibald Hamilton on the election of magistrates for Montrose—one of the Scotch burghs, in nearly all of which the corporation was virtually self-elective from year to year. The budget was a million or two less than that of the previous year, and one or two fiscal inequities were abated. Among a multitude of ineffective motions was one, supported by most of the Whigs, for a repeal of the Septennial Act;—a more radical and comprehensive plan of reform, proposed by Sir Francis Burdett, in twenty-six resolutions, found a seconder in Lord Cochrane, but not a single vote.

The dissolution of Parliament affords us an occasion of taking up several of the dropped threads of our narrative. One of the first and most beneficial consequences of the release of the national energies from the ab-

sorption of war, was seen in the number of attempts at the amendment of the laws and the amelioration of the social condition. Foremost amongst these were Sir Samuel Romilly's enlightened and benevolent labours for the mitigation of penal severities. The first success of that eminent lawyer and philanthropist—characters not often combined, yet unquestionably capable of blending with great effect—was in 1808, when he carried a bill abolishing the punishment of death for stealing from the person to the value of five shillings. Pursuing the plan he had laid down for his guidance—that of attempting the removal of these disgraceful statutes one by one, rather than the establishment of any general principle of penal law—he brought in three bills in 1810. Stealing from a shop to the value of five shillings, from a house or ship to the value of forty, were capital offences; and against this frightful barbarity his three bills were directed. The first was carried in the Commons, but lost in the Lords; the second and third rejected on their introduction. But in the next session they were reintroduced, with a fourth, applying to the capital offence of stealing from a bleaching-ground; which last was carried. In 1813, the new House of Commons carried the bill relating to shoplifting; but it was again rejected by the Lords. Romilly rested awhile, wearied and discouraged, but not hopeless. In 1816, he revived his attempts on the law punishing shoplifting with death, which he justly regarded as the worst of the sanguinary code. He combated the plea of necessary severity, so often and successfully urged against him, with the fact, that juries now constantly refused to convict, and consequently that the crime increased, especially among children; a boy not ten years of age then lying in Newgate under sentence of death for this offence. These arguments prevailed with the Commons; but the Lords were still swayed by the vague fear of endangering property which the Lord Chancellor and the Lord Chief Justice evoked. In 1817, it was not likely any diminution from the terrors of the law would be permitted; and in the year at which we have arrived, success in the Commons was obtained only to be again annulled by the peers. There is no more striking indication of the advance we have made upon the habits of our fathers than this—that whereas life is now taken only for life, and a growing feeling is in the country against even that exaction of supposed equivalents—Romilly—a man of great personal and political influence, at the head of his profession, eminent for eloquence and legal skill—spent his best years, from 1808 to 1818, in trying to persuade the legislature to exempt petty thieves from the gallows; and prevailed only in taking pocket-watches and bleaching-linen from the long list of articles to purloin which was death. It affords, too, another instance of the anticipation of legislative by public opinion. It was not till the institution of the country set itself in opposition to another, that the

rendered bad laws inoperative by pious frauds, and prosecutors preferred to connive at theft rather than to be parties to judicial murder, that those laws were ameliorated. The understanding and the morals of the legislating class were too fitly represented by a circumstance related by Romilly:—"While I was standing at the bar of the House of Commons, a young man, the brother of a peer, came up to me, and breathing in my face the nauseous fumes of his undigested debauch, stammered out, 'I am against your bill; I am for hanging all.' I was confounded; and endeavouring to find out some excuse for him, I observed that 'I supposed he meant that the certainty of punishment affording the only prospect of suppressing crime, the laws, whatever they were, ought to be executed.' 'No, no,' he said; 'it is not that. There is no good done by mercy; they only get worse. I would hang them all up at once.'" It was upon such material as this that the Eldons and Ellenboroughs of the age stamped the impress of their fallacious logic and of a barbarous antiquity.

Akin to these efforts of Romilly, in motive and tendency, were several committees of inquiry that sat in the latter half of this Parliament—such as those on the police of the metropolis; on lighting with gas; on mendicity, vagrancy, the law of settlement, and the administration of the poor laws; and on education. The police system of that day was quite in keeping with the punitive. The disclosures made to the committee of 1816 exonerate from the charge of exaggeration such stories as Fielding's "Jonathan Wild, the Thieftaker." In that year, three officers were proved to have lured five men to the commission of a "forty-pound crime"—that is, an offence for the detection of which forty pounds was legally awarded—in order to share the price of their blood. If some were actually tempted to, it may well be conceived that many more were encouraged or connived at in a course of crime, until their conviction became profitable to the myrmidons of the law. While gangs of thieves were thus permitted to pursue their depredations, the assemblage of bad characters in "flash houses," and of a lower class of vagabonds in the market-places, was openly recognised. Perhaps as much was done to deliver the metropolis from the disgrace and nuisance of this state of things by the general introduction of street-lighting by gas, as by direct intervention—yet when a company of subscribers asked, in 1816, for legal incorporation, they were first ridiculed for their folly, and then abused for their rapaciousness; and the shipping interest of that day predicted the ruin of the whale fisheries, with their twenty thousand seamen, ropemakers, etc. The law of settlement and the prevalence of vagrancy were cause and effect. Much of the amount levied for the relief of the poor was spent in transferring them from whithersoever they might wander back to of their native parishes. The poor-law itself perverted the just and merciful provision of the famous Act of Elizabeth into a corrupt and

lavish dispensation of doles; and the wise requirement of that same act, "that the poor be set to work," into a degrading, ruinous labour-auction. Without central supervision, each parish was governed by a clique, who doled out alms according to their private partialities, and let out to farmers and others the labourers whose families were supported by the parish. Thus all classes of the agricultural districts were cursed and ruined together. In urban workhouses attempts at reproductive pauper occupation were generally abandoned almost as soon as begun; as they failed from the obvious reason, that the supervisors had no private interest but in the abuse of the public means. There were many suggestions, of course, for the amendment of this intolerably mischievous system. One of these was, the constitution of every parish into a general benefit and relief society, to which all the inhabitants should be forced to contribute in proportion. Mr. George Rose patronized savings'-banks, for the regulation of which he brought in a bill in 1816: it was only in the January of that year that one of these institutions was established in London, though they had existed for some years in different parts of the country, and so near the metropolis as Tottenham. Mr. Whitbread proposed the slow but sure method of popular education, which was scouted as visionary and dangerous. In 1807, he broached the subject to the Legislature; but not a step was taken until, in 1816, Mr. Brougham obtained a "select committee to inquire into the state of the education of the lower orders of the people in London, Westminster, and Southwark." The committee in a few weeks brought up its report; the principal facts of which were, that there were in the metropolis a hundred and twenty thousand children without the means of instruction, and that while the funds of parish and other charity schools were not always administered with prudence and honesty, those of such noble establishments as Christchurch, Charterhouse, and Westminster, had been entirely perverted from their original design. In 1818, the committee was reappointed, with powers not restricted to the metropolis. It reported the existence of 18,500 day, and 5,100 Sunday schools; the former instructing 644,000, and the latter 452,000 children. Of the weekly schools, the endowed contained 166,000 scholars;—a large proportion of the Sunday scholars were set down as probably in attendance at endowed or unendowed daily schools. Before the close of the session, a bill was carried instituting a board of commissioners to inquire into charities for the education of the poor in England. These few sentences, however, represent a controversy which has since been described by one of the chief parties to it (Mr. Brougham), as "a controversy as fierce and uncompromising as almost any that ever raged"—"a controversy which agitated all men all over the country."

When it is added that thirty-five thousand pounds were voted for the

purchase of the Elgin marbles, and a million for building churches in populous parishes; that the Bank Restriction Act was renewed to facilitate loans to foreign governments; that the Alien Law was enacted for two years more, in the face of a stubborn resistance from the Opposition, prolonged by the discovery of a clause in the Act of Union with Scotland giving foreign shareholders in the Bank of Scotland the rights of naturalization; that the great Catholic question was formally debated only once, when the majority in the Commons against emancipation was twenty-four; and that a side attempt to relieve Catholics from disqualifying declarations failed;—we have touched upon all the domestic questions of interest with which the Parliament of 1813—18 busied itself. During this period, our vast Indian empire had been secured and consolidated under the administration of the Marquis of Hastings; the Mahratta confederacy received its final blow, and the predatory Pindaree tribes a decisive check; while civil affairs were so well managed by Mountstuart Elphinstone, as in no small degree to conciliate and benefit the native population. In its foreign action, the Government had two considerable achievements to show—the suppression of Algerine piracy, and the conclusion of anti-slave-trade treaties with Spain and Portugal. The piratical practices of Algiers and the other Barbary States were mentioned at the Congress of Vienna, as calling for the joint interference of the European sovereigns. But England and the other maritime powers could more easily justify to humanity than to themselves the decided course they adopted in 1816; since they had previously treated as respectable parties, and nourished by their mutual jealousies, the wretches on whom they then inflicted condign punishment. Lord Cochrane stated in Parliament, uncontradicted, that he had himself been employed to carry rich presents from our Government to that of Algiers within a year or two of the conclusion of the war with Napoleon; and this was but one act of an almost immemorial intercourse; so that the Dey had some cause to distrust our sudden zeal for the cause of humanity. The United States Government summarily exacted from the corsairs, in 1815, compensation and guarantees of security for its seafaring citizens. In the spring of the next year, Lord Exmouth obtained from the Deys of Algiers, Tunis, and Tripoli, by the presence of a squadron, the liberation of nearly two thousand slaves, and promises of forbearance towards the minor European states. He had returned and disbanded his crews, when he was ordered to refit, on account of an unpremeditated outrage committed on some coral fishers, under our protection, by the Algerine soldiery, which their Governor followed up by the seizure of the British Consul. Joined by a Dutch squadron, Lord Exmouth again presented himself before the city—this time demanding the entire and immediate abolition of Christian slavery

[August 27th]. The conflict that followed was truly awful. Nearly a thousand men were killed in the assailant ships, and the slaughter ashore must have been very great. A thousand and eighty-three more captives were brought up from the interior and released; the Dey's submission was formally ratified; and the squadrons returned with such a prize as seldom war can boast.—The slave-trade had also engaged the attention of the diplomatists of 1815, but without effect, beyond the confirmation by Louis the Eighteenth of Napoleon's edict. The Emperor Alexander's pious aspirations were not practical enough for more than an assurance of entire sympathy with the object;—to which he persisted in confining his benevolent speeches when earnestly appealed to at Aix-la-Chapelle, by Thomas Clarkson, on behalf of the English Abolitionists. Wilberforce continued, it seems, to press the subject upon the Ministry; abundant in gratitude even to Castlereagh, though so "cold-blooded a fish." Spain was induced to join in declaring the traffic illegal, and in recognising the right of search, from May 1820, by the gift of £400,000. To have brought Portugal to the same terms would have been of far greater importance; but nothing could be wrung from his most Faithful Majesty beyond the prohibition of the trade on the African coast north of the equator.

Contemporary celebrities are frequently observed to follow each other in quick succession to the tomb. It was so very remarkably in the years we have just been reviewing. The Whigs lost four of their leaders with melancholy rapidity. Whitbread's death we noticed in passing over the summer of 1815. The next year [July 7th, 1816] poor Sheridan died—in circumstances alike disgraceful to the royal and titled personages who had thrown him aside when he could no longer please or serve them, and painful to himself.\* George Ponsonby—the ostensible leader of the Opposition;

\* The last hours of the brilliant orator and dramatist were disturbed by the approach of bailiffs. His former boon companion and royal client proffered two hundred pounds in this extremity, which his friends declined. The circumstance drew from Sheridan's future biographer, Thomas Moore, these passionate verses:—

"Yea, grief will have way—but the fast-falling tear  
Shall be mingled with deep execrations on those  
Who could bask in that spirit's meridian career,  
And yet leave it thus lonely and dark at its close;—

Whose vanity flew round him only while fed  
By the odour his fame in its summer-time gave;  
Whose vanity now, with quick scent for the dead,  
Like the ghoul of the East, comes to feed at his grave.

Oh! it sickens the heart to see bosoms so hollow,  
And spirits so mean in the great and high-born;  
To think what a long line of titles may follow  
The relics of him who died friendless and lorn!

[How

more respected for his character than his talents—survived Sheridan but one day, dying from apoplexy. Horner, the economist, chairman of the Bullion Committee of 1811, died early in 1817; not spared to witness the adoption of his doctrines by a greater than himself. In November of the next year one more regretted than they all—Sir Samuel Romilly, the great philanthropist and reformer—died by his own hand. His noble soul had been thrown off its balance by the death of a tenderly-beloved wife; the anguish of the affections unrelieved by the strength of a body worn out by incessant labours. The poignancy of the universal regret—for even Eldon, his immovable antagonist, wept at the sight of his vacant place in Westminster Hall—was aggravated by the circumstance, that he had just been returned triumphantly for Westminster, without a shilling of personal expense. Before the year was out, Lord Ellenborough, Warren Hastings—for whom Ellenborough had been counsel, years before, on his great trial—and Sir Philip Francis, Hastings' implacable accuser, and the supposed "Junius"—had gone, with the old Queen Charlotte, to join the indiscriminate, peaceful congregation of the dead.

How proud they can press to the fun'ral array  
Of one whom they shunn'd in sickness and sorrow;  
How bailiffs may seize his last blanket to-day,  
Whose pall shall be held up by nobles to-morrow!

And thou, too, whose life, a sick episcure's dream,  
Incoherent and gross, even grosser had pass'd,  
Were it not for that cordial and soul-giving beam  
Which his friendship and wit o'er thy nothingness cast;—

No, not for the wealth of the land that supplies thee  
With millions to heap upon Foppery's shrine;—  
No, not for the riches of all who despise thee,  
Tho' this would make Europe's whole opulence mine—

Would I suffer what—ev'n in the heart that thou hast,  
All mean as it is—must have consciously burn'd,  
When the pittance which shame had wrung from thee at last,  
And which found all his wants at an end was returned.

• • • • •  
Yes! such was the man, and such was his fate;  
And thus, sooner or later, shall all have to grieve,  
Who waste their morn's dew in the beams of the great,  
And expect 'twill return to refresh them at eve."



## CHAPTER V.

THE GREAT CURRENCY SETTLEMENT—RELAPSE OF THE MANUFACTURING DISTRICTS INTO DISTRESS—  
REVIVAL OF THE REFORM AGITATION—THE MANCHESTER MASSACRE, AND CONSEQUENT PRO-  
CEEDINGS—THE SIX ACTS—DEATH OF THE DUKE OF KENT AND OF KING GEORGE THE THIRD.

THE first trial of strength in the new Parliament [January, 1819] took place on the re-arrangement of the royal household consequent on the death of the Queen. The care of the King's person was first committed to the Duke of York. Ministers then asked, that of the hundred and fifty-eight thousand a year which had fallen in by her Majesty's demise, fifty thousand should be appropriated to keeping up an establishment at Windsor, twenty-five thousand to providing for the servants of the Queen, and ten thousand to the custos of the King. A select committee was appointed on the whole subject; and Tierney, the new leader of the Opposition, took his stand on the allowance to the Duke. His amendment on this proposal—that seeing the Crown already enjoyed £140,000 a-year, no further grant was necessary—was supported by a number of speakers with great ability; even Wilberforce overcame his fear of paining Castlereagh so far as to vote against him; but the decision gave Ministers a majority of two hundred and forty-seven to a hundred and thirty-seven.

The great event of the session was the passage of a bill authorizing the long-deferred resumption of cash payments by the Bank of England. The reports of the debates in both Houses cover no less than four or five hundred columns of "Hansard;" but their interest, to readers of the present day, is almost confined to that famous speech in which Sir Robert Peel avowed his first great change of opinion. The question was first dealt with in secret committees to inquire into the state of the Bank. To the Commons' committee, two-thirds of the members of which were Ministerialists, it was proposed by the Opposition to add Mr. Brougham; and the motion was rejected only by a hundred and seventy-five votes to a hundred and thirty-three. The committees recommended in their reports, "that in order to facilitate the final and complete restoration of cash payments, a bill should be forthwith passed, prohibiting the continuance of the payment in gold by the Bank of notes issued previous to the 1st of January, 1817;" six or seven millions of which had already been paid, without any good result to the nation, the golden stream having found its way to France. The bill was brought in and passed with but little objection. A second report was presented by each committee some few

weeks later. They represented the state of the Bank as highly flourishing—the bullion in its coffers as greater, in the previous October, than at any period of its history—and recommended the plan which was ultimately adopted. Its author was Mr. Ricardo, a fortunate stock-broker, and the leading economist now that Horner was no more. The proposal was—that the Bank should be bound to exchange its notes, not for coin, but for gold of a certain fineness, at the standard, permanent rate of three pounds seventeen shillings and tenpence halfpenny the ounce. Resolutions embodying this principle were moved in the House of Lords by Lord Harrowby, the chairman of the committee; and in the Commons by Mr. Peel, who had filled the same office in the committee of the lower House. Lord Lauderdale was solitary among the peers in his objections, and little debate took place. But in the Commons, a four nights' discussion was opened up by Mr. Peel, who began his speech with that candid avowal which is now looked back upon as eminently characteristic and honourable. "He was ready to avow," he said, "without shame or remorse, that he went into the committee with a very different opinion from that which he at present entertained; for his views of the subject were most materially different when he voted against the resolutions brought forward in 1811 by Mr. Horner. Having gone into the inquiry determined to dismiss all former impressions that he might have received, and to obliterate from his memory the vote which he had given some years since, when the same question was discussed, he had resolved to apply to it his undivided and unprejudiced attention, and adopt every inference that authentic information or mature reflection should offer to his mind; and he had no hesitation in stating, that although he should probably even now vote, if it were again brought before the House, in opposition to the practical measure then recommended, he now, with very little modification, concurred in the principles laid down in the first fourteen resolutions submitted to the House by that very able and much lamented individual. He conceived them to represent the true nature and laws of our monetary system." It is possible that this is the only one of his three great conversions in which posterity will not confirm his judgment; but there can never be a doubt of the honesty with which he had adopted and the frankness with which he avowed his altered conviction—the more so when it is remembered, that he was, as he touchingly informed the House, "opposing himself to an authority [that of his father] to which he always had bowed, and he hoped always should bow, with deference; but here he had a great public duty imposed upon him, and from that duty he would not shrink, whatever might be his private feelings." Mr. Matthias Attwood was the only member by whom the measure was directly opposed; but several modifications were suggested by others. The bill in its final form consisted of thirteen clauses, to take effect in May

1823—repealing previous restrictive acts, and so annulling notes for less than five pounds—authorizing cash payments, during the current year at the price per ounce for gold of £4 1s.; and in 1820, of £3 17s. 10½d.—removing the prohibitions from the melting and exportation of coin or plate—and requiring the Bank to publish quarterly accounts. Parliament was literally unanimous in the passage of the measure, Mr. Attwood absenting himself from the lower, as Earl Grey had declined concurrence in the upper House. Mr. Canning triumphantly pronounced the question “set at rest for ever.” But there was a not inconsiderable class in the country who believed in the warning which Mr. Cobbett addressed from Long Island to his disciples—that it was not the abundance of bullion, but of what it purchased, which made gold plentiful; and that a fall in prices, not three, as Mr. Ricardo had stated, but perhaps thirty per cent., would ensue on the contraction of the circulating medium, with ruinous consequences to many. Whether his prophecies of evil were unfounded, we shall soon see—we all know that Mr. Canning’s boast was sadly premature.

The session of 1819 was further distinguished by the imposition of three millions additional taxes (laid on malt, tobacco, tea, coffee, and other articles of consumption, and on wool), on the ground that the reduction of revenue, at the rate of eighteen millions per annum since 1815, had been too rapid;—by a long debate on the state of the nation, and a short debate on Sir Henry Parnell’s motion for retrenchment; the appointment of a new committee (known as Mr. Sturges Bourne’s) on the poor-law; the passage of (the elder) Sir Robert Peel’s bill for the protection of young persons employed in factories; the extension of the act obtained by Mr. Brougham in the previous session to all charitable foundations, except (which exemption the learned gentleman unsuccessfully opposed) institutions having special visitors; and the obtaining by Sir J. Mackintosh of a committee on capital punishment for felonies. The Government manifested a disposition to amend the condition of the criminal population by the appointment of two committees on the state of gaols; but took a backward step in abolishing, with the old feudal right of appeal by battle, the valuable privilege of appeal in cases of murder and other capital crimes. Their sympathies with foreign despotism were shown in carrying, by very narrow majorities, a bill preventing the enlistment of British subjects, or equipment of vessels, in foreign service, without royal license. The anti-slavery party were gratified by the conclusion of treaties with the Netherlands, and the amendment of the convention with Portugal. Grattan, the great Irish patriot, raised his eloquent voice for the last time in the House to which he had transferred his high abilities along with the interests of his country, on a motion for a committee on the laws excluding his Catholic fellow-countrymen from representation—which was lost only by a majority of two.

Lord Archibald Hamilton renewed his efforts at Scotch burgh reform, with success, carrying a motion for inquiry. The greater question of Parliamentary reform was mooted by Sir Francis Burdett, for the eighteenth time. He was supported, on this occasion, by Mr. Lamb, brother to the late Lord Melbourne, Alderman Waithman, Mr. Hume, and fifty-four other members. Lord John Russell declined to "throw a slur" on the then representation of the country by voting for the motion—though the then representation was somewhat worse than that which he has subsequently received great credit for reforming—and at the same time ridiculed the venerable Major Cartwright, as "a Nestor in nothing but his age." Some of the noble lord's party had been severely handled at the Westminster election, consequent on the death of Romilly; and were deservedly lampooned by Canning as "the mud-bespattered Whigs, rescued from their overpowering popularity by a detachment of horse-guards." If the middle path which that party boast of uniformly pursuing, be indeed the path of justice and safety, they who have so pertinaciously trodden it must require all the consolation of conscious rectitude for the almost uniform unpopularity which their mediocrity has secured to them.

The Regent's address on proroguing Parliament [July 13th] admitted the relapse of the manufacturing districts into distress, and complained, as before, that seditious advantage was being taken of social calamity. There had, in truth, been wide-spread suffering in those parts, from want of employment and dearness of food, and some striking political demonstrations. Fifteen thousand Manchester spinners had been out on strike in the previous summer, and had not returned to work till after an unfortunate collision with the military, and several arrests. In the spring, meetings of distressed operatives were held at Glasgow, Ashton-under-Lyne, Leeds, Stockport, and elsewhere, at all or most of which political and industrial questions were mixed up. Sir Charles Wolseley, a Staffordshire baronet, "an honest but not very wise man," made his debut at the Stockport meeting. At the Chester assizes an indictment was found against him for the speech he then delivered; but before his arrest Birmingham had had its great meeting, and elected him its "legislatorial attorney and representative." Meetings at Manchester, and all the principal towns of Lancashire and Yorkshire, then unrepresented, appointed delegates to a great reform union, and took a pledge to abstain, as far as possible, from articles paying custom or excise duty. Female democratic clubs also began at this time to be established. What was still more alarming, the sedentary artisans had taken it into their heads that military exercise would at once benefit their health and enable them to muster with order and grace at their open-air gatherings. A disbanded soldier or old militia man was to be found in every village; and through May, June, and July, parties might be seen in the morning and

evening twilight "going through their facings" on the roads and moors. That these parties were invariably unarmed, practised without the slightest concealment, and usually on their way to and from the factory, is presumptive proof of their harmless intentions. But the county magistracy—to whom such towns as Manchester, in the eye of the law villages, were subject; and who were exclusively landowners and clergymen—took alarm, and communicated it to the Government. Down came circular letters from Lord Sidmouth, and a proclamation from the Regent against legialatorial attorneys, military training, and seditious meetings. A pretext for the prevention of the meetings was found in associating them with the drillings. Persons were easily found to swear that they verily believed these latter were intended for rebellious purposes, and were themselves put in bodily fear thereby. The Radicals of Manchester announced their intention of electing Hunt as their legialatorial attorney, but the meeting was forbidden by the magistrates. The Boroughreeve was then memorialized to call a town's meeting on parliamentary reform, but this too being refused, Bamford and his friends convened a meeting for Monday, the 16th of August, in St. Peter's-fields—a tract of ground large enough to contain eighty or a hundred thousand people; and on which now stands the Free-trade Hall, on the exact site of the hustings. Henry Hunt was invited to preside, and the flags and processions in which he delighted were prepared.

The mustering and sudden dispersion of this unfortunately celebrated meeting are thus described by an eye-witness (Mr. Archibald Prentice):—"I saw the main body proceeding towards St. Peter's-fields, and never saw a gayer spectacle. There were haggard-looking men certainly, but the majority were young persons, in their best Sunday suits, and the light-coloured dresses of the cheerful tidy-looking women relieved the effect of the dark fustian worn by the men. . . . The 'marching order' of which so much was said afterwards was what we often see now in the processions of Sunday-school children and temperance societies. To our eyes, the numerous flags seemed to have been brought to add to the picturesque effect of the pageant. Our company laughed at the fears of the magistrates, and the remark was, that if the men intended mischief they would not have brought their wives, their sisters, or their children, with them. I passed round the outskirts of the meeting, and mingled with the groups that stood chatting there. I occasionally asked the women if they were not afraid to be there, and the usual laughing reply was—'What have we to be afraid of?' I saw Hunt arrive, and heard the shouts of the sixty thousand persons by whom he was enthusiastically welcomed, as the carriage in which he stood made its way through the dense crowd to the hustings. I proceeded to my dwelling-house in Salford, intending to return in about an hour or so to witness in what manner so large a meeting would separate. I had not been

at home more than a quarter of an hour when a wailing sound was heard from the main street, and, rushing out, I saw people running in the direction of Pendleton, their faces pale as death, and some with blood trickling down their cheeks. It was with difficulty I could get any one to stop and tell me what had happened. The unarmed multitude, men, women, and children, had been attacked, with murderous results, by the soldiery."

This frightful scene was the result of a resolution come to by the magistrates, late on the previous night, to arrest Hunt and his friends in the midst of this immense concourse of their followers. Hunt had offered to surrender himself voluntarily; so that their mad resolve can only be attributed to a reckless desire of striking the people with terror. That they apprehended resistance there can be no doubt from the ample preparation they had made to overcome it. They had ready six troops of hussars, a troop of horse artillery and two guns, a regiment of infantry, three or four hundred of the Cheshire yeomanry, and forty of the Manchester—the latter "hot-headed young men, who had volunteered into the service from their intense hatred of radicalism." To wicked recklessness of life they added personal cowardice. Though a lane of special constables was formed from the hustings to the house where they sat, and a line of infantry might easily have been drawn up within that lane, none of them ventured to pass up and serve the warrants they had prepared; but the yeomanry were brought upon the field at a quick trot. They were received with a shout from the multitude, which was certainly intended to express good will, but was interpreted as a defiance. Instantly, the yeomen drew their swords, waved them in the air, and dashed into the dense crowd. The astonished and defenceless mass gave way so far as it could—but necessarily swaying to and fro, the horsemen's ranks were broken, and themselves swamped in that living sea. The commander of the hussars says, that it was at this juncture he was called upon; and that he saw at a glance the yeomen were "in the power of those whom they were designed to overawe." His troop was ordered to the rescue, and though careful to use the backs of their sabres, appalling were the wounds they inflicted. "People, yeomen, and constables," says the officer, "in their confused attempts to escape, ran one over the other; so that by the time we had arrived at the end of the field, the fugitives were literally piled up to a considerable elevation above the level of the field." Even then the havoc was scarcely begun. The brutal yeomen, infuriated at being indebted for rescue to the regular soldiery, wheeled, dashed in at every opening, and struck right and left. "Women, white-vested maids, and tender youths,"—says Bamford, who was on the hustings—"were indiscriminately sabred or trampled on. Few were the instances in which that forbearance was vouchsafed which they so earnestly implored." In ten minutes, "the field was an open and almost deserted space. . . . The

yeomanry had dismounted; some were easing their horses' girths, others adjusting their accoutrements, and some wiping their sabres. Several mounds of human beings still remained where they had fallen, crushed down and smothered." Eight men, two women, and a child, were taken up before night dead, or mortally injured. The wounded had fled, or been carried, by hundreds to their homes.

Among the parties taken into custody on the hustings with Hunt, was the reporter of the (then reforming) "Times." But the news of what had transpired was not kept back from the public by this accident. Gentlemen who had taken no part in the meeting wrote to the London papers instantly, and the tragic news quickly circulated. Intense indignation was excited in all but a few, and the occurrence was generally regretted as a catastrophe where it was not denounced as a crime. The magistrates soon became concerned for the consequences of what they had done, and a private meeting of their friends was got up to thank them in the name of the town; which was immediately met by the protest of four thousand eight hundred inhabitants. The government, after anxious but hasty deliberation, resolved on supporting the magistrates; and on the 21st, the thanks of the Prince Regent for their "prompt, decisive, and efficient measures for the preservation of the public peace," were conveyed to them by Lord Sidmouth.\* But votes of severe censure, and demands for inquiry, were passed by great meetings in London, Westminster, Glasgow, York, Bristol, Nottingham, Norwich, Liverpool, and other large towns, and the county of York. A committee was formed at Manchester, and attended by a deputation from London, to relieve the wounded and defend the imprisoned. Five hundred and sixty cases of serious injury were reported by the committee. And this was only an approximation to the whole truth, for of the numbers of poor creatures who had refused to apply for parish or surgical aid, lest their wounds should be made witnesses against them, many kept back even from the relief committee. One hundred and forty, fourteen of

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\* All who have used or looked into Cobbett's English Grammar, remember that he selects exercises in the correction of bad English from the royal and ministerial speeches and documents of this period. Here is a specimen of cabinet composition which dashed with amusement the indignation prevalent at the time it was issued:—

"Whitehall, November 6, 1819.

"My Lord,—Having been informed that there are *laying* about throughout the kingdom, especially in the maritime part of it, a great number of cannon, which are private property, a considerable *part* of which *were* formerly used in merchant's ships, I beg leave to call your lordship's attention to this subject; and to request that you will direct the magistrates under your lordship's charge, to make the necessary inquiries within their respective districts, and if *any* gun of this description should be found therein, that they will cause immediate steps to be taken, with the consent of *their* owners, for rendering *them* useless, or for removing *them* to a place of security. I have the honour to be, &c. &c,

"H. H. Lieutenant of—."

"SIDMOUTH."

whom were women, had received severe sabre cuts; and a hundred and thirteen other women had been severely bruised by sabre or hoof. Upwards of twelve hundred pounds were distributed among the wounded and their families, and nearly two thousand were expended in the defence of other victims. The three thousand pounds then raised are a pleasing indication of the sympathy existing at the time between the moderate and the radical reforming classes. The gentle forbearance of the cruelly outraged people, whose numerical might was after all overwhelming, and whose vengeance no amount of physical force could have suppressed, was a keen reproach on those who vilified and oppressed them even unto blood. It is infinitely to the honour of the working classes of that day, that their six hundred killed and wounded were smitten down unarmed, and were not avenged by midnight burnings nor private assassinations.

The Government followed up its first resolution by prosecuting Hunt and his fellows; by an *ex officio* proceeding against Sir Francis Burdett, for the letter which he addressed to his constituents immediately on hearing of the affair; by rebuffing with an answer characterised by Earl Grey as "impertinent and flippant" an address from the corporation of London; and dismissing Earl Fitzwilliam from the Lord-Lieutenantship of the West Riding for having taken part in the Yorkshire county meeting. The verdict of a coroner's inquest, which had sat nine times, at Oldham, upon one of the sufferers, was quashed by the Court of King's Bench; and the Lancaster grand jury threw out the indictments preferred against the yeomanry. A meeting at Paisley, in the month of September, was forcibly broken up, and involved that town and Glasgow in a three days' riot. We may add here, that Hunt was put upon his trial, with nine others, at York, in the following March, for sedition—the graver charge of high treason had been first imputed, but was abandoned. Five were acquitted, five found guilty, and sentenced to imprisonment for various terms—Hunt for two years and a half, Bamford and others for one year. The convicted had good cause, however, to congratulate themselves on the failure of the evidence adduced to prove more than indiscretion in their proceedings on the fatal sixteenth of August;—a dagger-painted banner, for instance, on which much stress was laid, was proved to have taken its device and colour from the inconsiderate haste of its artist. Some of them got, as later victims have done, this great, unintended good from their sufferings—they learnt to distrust vain, pompous, loud-mouthed agitators, and to separate themselves from folly when they could neither control nor neutralize it. Sir Francis was fined £2,000, and sentenced to three months' imprisonment. Sir Charles Wolseley and a Rev. Mr. Harrison received eighteen months' imprisonment each for their harangues at Stockport and Ashton-under-Lyne.

Nor were Ministers content to rest here from their policy of unmiti-



gated repression. Lord Sidmouth took advantage of the declarations of his most unscrupulous supporters to press on the unwilling Premier the immediate assemblage of Parliament, for the adoption of laws that should absolutely suppress the agitation that grew in spite of all attempts to retard it. The Houses were accordingly summoned for the 28th of November. There were immediately laid before them the measures that have become obnoxious by the name of "the Six Acts." They were—the first, "An Act to prevent delay in the administration of justice in cases of misdemeanor;" the second, "to prevent the training of persons to the use of arms, and to the practice of military evolutions and exercise;" the third, "for the more effectual prevention and punishment of blasphemous and seditious libels;" the fourth, "to authorize justices of the peace, in certain disturbed counties, to seize and detain arms collected and kept for purposes dangerous to the public peace;" the fifth, "to subject certain publications to the duties of stamps upon newspapers, and to make other regulations for restraining the abuses arising from the publication of blasphemous and seditious libels;" and the sixth, "for more effectually preventing seditious meetings and assemblies." The arbitrary provisions of these measures may be conjectured from their descriptive titles. They destroyed or suspended every privilege on which Englishmen were accustomed to plume themselves. They introduced the punishment of banishment for libel, and bound down the most moderate political writers under heavy burdens and onerous securities; disarmed the people, and subjected their previously sacred homes to midnight visitations; restricted the right of petition to the narrow bounds in which it could be exercised without that of public meeting; and necessarily invaded personal liberty as well as political. The Whigs, except the Grenville section, united with the generally-hated Radicals in opposing, at every step, from the Prince Regent's speech to the third reading, these extraordinary measures, but they were passed by majorities of two to one. It is impossible for the Liberal politician of to-day not to echo aloud the deep, indignant groans of the people on whom this yoke of iron was bound.

Having thus provided, as it was supposed, for the increased security of the throne, Parliament adjourned for a few weeks; but within that short interval the aged monarch of the throne had passed away. On the evening of Saturday, January 29, 1820, at Windsor Castle, died King George the Third, in the eighty-second year of his age, and the sixtieth of his reign. Though the event was regarded as quite without political importance—since blindness and insanity had for ten years deprived him of all but the name of King, and his son would but add the title to the power of the sovereign—it could not fail to create a sensation of solemnity; especially as it had been preceded but a week before [the 23rd] by the death of the Duke of

Kent—the fourth son of the old King, and the father of our present Sovereign—in the fifty-third year of his age. The succession, however, was no longer in danger;—on the 25th of March previously, the Duchess of Cambridge had given birth to a son; on the 27th, the Duchess of Clarence to a daughter (who died in a few hours); on the 24th of May, the Duchess of Kent to the Princess Victoria; and on the next day, the Duchess of Cumberland to a son. Of the public and personal character of George the Third, it is necessary to speak somewhat at length. On any theory of kingship, it is impossible to award him praise. To be destitute of the “governing faculty,” is perhaps rather an advantage than otherwise to a modern constitutional monarch; but for him at the same time to possess strong notions of the royal prerogative, and an exaggerated sense of responsibility, is a great misfortune to himself and his people. It was this combination of qualities and circumstances which rendered the reign of George the Third disastrous beyond any since that of Henry the Sixth. With no direct power but the negative one of obstruction, he never used that power but to prevent just and conciliatory concessions; while the indirect influence inseparable from his station was always used against the peace of the world and the amelioration of his own people. The loss of the American colonies is universally attributed to his obstinate persistence in a policy condemned by his wisest councillors and the highest constitutional authorities. Twenty years of almost incessant war were owing greatly to his personal animosities, fear, and pride. The protraction over twenty-eight years of the Catholic struggle, with the consequent embroilment of Ireland, and occasional outbursts of vehement bigotry in England, is as directly traceable to his superstitious immobility. Sincerity may justify a man to his Maker, but it cannot avert the complaints and condemnations of a nation from its ruler. It is customary, however, for the eulogists of George the Third to take refuge from these facts in his supposed personal excellences. It is but lately that Parliament was called upon to vote the more readily an extravagant dotation to the family of the Duke of Cambridge, on the ground that he was the son of “the good King George;” and historians are singularly unanimous in testifying, that “as a monarch he was endeared to his people by his private virtues.” Comparatively, this is true; but only comparatively. It is generally supposed that he was a model of domestic morality; whereas, he was either a seducer or a bigamist. When Prince of Wales, he abducted one Hannah Lightfoot, a Quakeress; and it is asserted, that he was married to her at Kew, by Dr. Wilmot, in the presence of the elder Pitt. It is certain that he had several children by this unhappy young woman, and that he abandoned her on his marriage with Charlotte. The law which forbids members of the royal family marrying with subjects, or without the consent of the reigning sovereign, was passed subsequently, and at his own instigation.

"The domestic history of George the Third," says a writer in the "Eclectic Review"—a faithful authority on questions of English history—"is one of the most awful that ever befel a monarch. The consequences of concealing his first marriage were terrible to his peace of mind, and to that of more than one of his children; and in this fact we are to seek for the true causes of the overthrow of his intellect. It is not common for virtuous parents to bring up a whole family of licentious profligates; and yet what family ever exhibited such a troop of the most shameless and sensual ones as that of George the Third? He saw his sons seduced and abandon one woman after another, and he could not reprimand them; for he knew his own story better than they who now act the historian seem to do. It is high time, however, that history should speak the truth; and the highest praise that can be allowed to George the Third is, that having married two wives, and living before the nation as a bigamist, he was at least faithful to one of them. But he set before his children a fatal example, which they only too carefully followed." It is from no pleasure in disinterring the vices of kings, from no splenetic delight in showing rottenness where men have agreed to honour comeliness, that we reproduce here these generally forgotten facts; but from a deep conviction that kings are as much wronged as nations by the system which hedges about the former with temptations, and holds up to the latter false ideals, while it imposes on them oppressive burdens. We shall have to look presently on the King of England arraigning his wife for crimes for which himself was infamous, and persecuting her to the very death;—it is but just even to him to show, that his vices were not all his own, as it is due to public morality to illustrate from the life of George the Third, that the sins of youth are visited on the hoary head, and transmitted even with a crown.

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## CHAPTER VI.

THE CATO-STREET CONSPIRACY—RETURN OF THE QUEEN TO ENGLAND—HER RECEPTION BY THE KING AND PEOPLE—SECRET COMMITTEES ON HER CONDUCT ABROAD—HER TRIAL, ACQUITTAL, DEATH, AND BURIAL—PARLIAMENTARY AND CRIMINAL-LAW REFORM—MR. BROUGHAM'S EDUCATIONAL SCHEME—THE CONSTITUTIONAL ASSOCIATION—THE CATHOLIC QUESTION.

THE reign of George the Fourth opened with an alarming, disgusting event. On the 5th of January [1820], the Duke of Wellington wrote that he "had just heard that Sidmouth had discovered another conspiracy." There was so little of the unusual in this, that Sidmouth's colleagues might well pass

it off with a smile. But at the time some desperate men—desperate from poverty, and their leader, Thistlewood, at least, from the desire of revenge, having suffered a year's imprisonment for insulting Lord Sidmouth with a challenge—and their desperation inflamed by the diabolical arts of the spy Edwards—were really plotting the simultaneous destruction of the Ministers in their own houses. On Saturday, February the 19th, the deed was to have been executed; but it was postponed to the following Wednesday on learning that a cabinet dinner would be held that day at Lord Harrowby's; and it was thought better to strike all at one blow. Some of the gang were to watch the house, another to call with a note, and then all rush in upon the guests. The Ministers, of course, were kept informed of what was resolved, and agreed to assemble at Lord Liverpool's instead of Lord Harrowby's. At the appointed hour, a posse of armed police was sent to seize the intended assassins in a stable-loft, in Cato-street, Edgeware-road. Soldiers were to have accompanied the officers, but unfortunately were not ready at the moment. Smithers, one of the officers, was the first to mount the ladder, and was stabbed by Thistlewood, who escaped in the darkness and confusion, with fourteen others. Nine were captured, with their wretched arms and ammunition; and Thistlewood himself in the morning. Of course a great sensation was excited when this became known; and the king's speech at the dissolution of Parliament (on the 13th of March) consequent on the royal demise, made use of it for the old purpose of exciting distrust of the people. On the 20th of April, Thistlewood and the nine others were put on their trial. Five pleaded guilty, and were sentenced to transportation for life. Thistlewood and four others were condemned, after a three days' trial, to death, which they suffered, with all the horrible accompaniments then inflicted for treason. Edwards was brought forward neither as a witness nor as a prisoner. Alderman Wood moved a resolution of inquiry on the subject in the House, but in vain. It was known that Edwards had instigated the conspirators to their design, and furnished them with money for its execution; that he had attempted to seduce many more, who made oath to that effect on learning the fate of his victims; and that he was raised from the depth of poverty to affluence. Of the infamy that attaches to his name, his noble and honourable employers cannot repudiate a share.

While the natural lives of the Ministers were threatened by these wretched men, their official existence, they were conscious, was jeopardized by the displeasure of their royal master; and himself, in turn, was for several days in imminent danger of dying from inflammation of the lungs. He had demanded of the cabinet, immediately on his accession, a divorce from his wife, impatient to contract a marriage that might possibly redeem his sceptre from barrenness. Unwilling to culminate their unpopularity by such a scandalous procedure, and yet reluctant to relinquish office, they

made their refusal conditional on the Queen's remaining abroad; whither she had gone in 1814, after a seclusion at Blackheath of many years' duration. They did not calculate on the high spirit of the woman with whom they had to do, nor upon the readiness of the English people to resent even the appearance of persecution. Fourteen years before, "a delicate investigation" into her conduct had been instituted by her husband and his Whig friends; Mr. Perceval helped her through it, and so complete was her justification that the King would have invited her to court, and Parliament was induced to settle upon her thirty-five thousand a-year during *his* life. As that period evidently drew near its end, the Prince became intent on liberation from the matrimonial tie; and his ministers—Mr. Perceval's political successors, it should be observed—sent out another commission, but this time without the knowledge of the accused, to collect evidence of her rumoured infidelity; which they succeeded in procuring at the suspicious price of twenty-three thousand pounds. It was on the strength of this evidence, that Ministers promised to comply with the King's desire, should his hated consort not accept the terms which they at the same time offered her—namely, the increase of her annuity to fifty thousand pounds. But they made a fatal concession in consenting to the omission of her Majesty's name from the Prayer-Book, when the usual alterations consequent on an accession were made, and to her non-recognition at foreign courts. To have sat down under these indignities would have been at once to confess herself unworthy to be wife or queen. When, therefore, it was known that she had written to Lord Liverpool complaining that our ambassadors at foreign courts refused to receive her as Queen of England, and announcing her intention to return and claim a seat beside the throne, an instinctive shout applauded her courage. The courts of law acknowledged her right to appoint law-officers, by recognising Messrs. Brougham and Denman as her Attorney and Solicitor-general; and through them Ministers opened a negotiation with her at St. Omers. She refused to listen to terms which implied her guilt, and exposed her to continued insult; and on June the 6th she landed at Dover, amidst the salvos of its castle-guns and the acclamations of an extraordinary concourse. The same day Ministers presented to each House a message from the King, requesting their consideration of certain papers relative to the conduct of her Majesty; and on the next, Mr. Brougham read to the Commons a letter from the Queen, in which she prayed for a public inquiry. Select committees were appointed, but only that of the Lords went into the business. The lower House unequivocally expressed its aversion to enter upon an affair that must in anywise consume much time, inflame public feeling, and destroy whatever of respect remained to the Crown. Negotiation was therefore resorted to—the Duke of Wellington and Lord Castlereagh representing the King; but after several

conferences was abandoned. Mr. Wilberforce made another effort to save public morality from the impending shock, by proposing an address to the Queen, which looked very much like entreating her to surrender the justice she claimed for the sake of peace; and to which she very properly declined acceding. The Lords' committee brought up their report on the 4th of July; and the Queen prayed to be heard by counsel at once, which was refused, and a bill of pains and penalties brought in—"an act to deprive her Majesty Queen Caroline Amelia Elizabeth, of the titles, prerogatives, rights, privileges, and exemptions, of Queen Consort of this realm, and to dissolve the marriage between his Majesty and the said Caroline Amelia Elizabeth." The preamble to the bill alleged that she had been guilty of generally improper conduct, and particularly of adulterous intercourse with one Bartolomeo Bergami, one of her Italian servants. The bill was read a first time on its introduction—the next day, the Queen offered a protest against it, and again petitioned to be heard by counsel; which was so far conceded that Messrs. Brougham and Denman were permitted to state their royal client's demand. It was, that the bill be at once dropped or prosecuted without delay. Not, however, till the 17th of August was the second reading moved, and the production of evidence in support of its allegations commenced. Then began a scene unparalleled in judicial or legislative annals. Day after day, for three weeks, the Queen of Great Britain and Ireland sat at the bar of the high court of Parliament, while English officers and Italian domestics repeated, on oath, foolish or indecent tales concerning her, and were subjected to the searching cross-examination of the most able advocates. Much of what was sworn to turned out, under this process, ridiculous or false; and the answer of one of the witnesses, Majocchi, to nearly every interrogation—"Non mi ricordo" (I don't remember)—became a byword throughout the country. On the 8th of September the examinations were concluded, and then the Queen's counsel asked for and obtained an adjournment to the 3rd of October. Another month was consumed by the speeches of Messrs. Brougham, Denman, and Lushington, the examination of witnesses for the defence, and the replies of Sir R. Gifford and Sir John Copley. On the 6th of November, the division on the second reading was taken, and showed a majority of only twenty-eight—one hundred and nine for and eighty-one against the bill. Four days later, on the third reading, the majority had dwindled to nine; and the bill was instantly abandoned.

It must not be supposed that this issue exactly represented the state of conviction in the House of Lords as to the Queen's guilt or innocence. There were many who refused to punish as a crime, misconduct "provoked by outrage and facilitated by neglect"—others took part with the wife against the husband, as they had formerly caballed with the son against the

father—and others, again, feared to excite further the popular feeling, which had been remarkably displayed. The elders of the present generation—with the excitements of the Peninsular war, of the Waterloo campaign, and of the reform agitation, fading from their memories—are yet eloquently garrulous of the summer of 1820. They associate the trial of Queen Caroline with the tropical heat of that July and August, and with an eclipse of the midday sun. With the first announcement of the Queen's intention to return home, public excitement began, and seemed to heighten with every successive incident. Her reception at Dover was dignified by an address from the municipality, to which she replied in words that flew over the country, and rendered her progress to London a continual triumph. As she was conducted by Alderman Wood to his West-end mansion, the shouts that greeted her must have reached her husband in the innermost recesses of St. James's or Buckingham House; and at night a general illumination expressed or did homage to the popular feeling. Then there were addresses and deputations from all parts of the country, and from all sections of the people—from squires and yeomen, in whose sluggish souls chivalrous sympathy for a persecuted woman overcame customary reverence for legitimate authority; as well as from Radical townships that saw in this great source of annoyance to Ministers some avenging for their imprisoned champions. Daily as she went to both Houses, the streets thronged, balconies and housetops swarming, multitudinous voices invoked "God bless your Majesty," urged the hesitating soldiers to do honour to their Queen, and hooted or cheered the leading partisans. Ministers, in a perpetual harass, meeting in cabinet-council sometimes twice and thrice a day, were assailed with groans and hisses at every appearance out of doors—"the Duke," says the recorded gossip of the day, touching his hat with imperturbable self-command; but his more impetuous comrade, the Marquis of Anglesea, spurring in among the mob, or turning round to argue with them, according to the temper of the moment. The popular notion of the Queen's peril was much exaggerated; as from the well-known fate of Henry the Eighth's unfortunate consorts, death was supposed to be the legal penalty of her imputed offence. Proportionately great was the rejoicing at her deliverance. The metropolis had its three nights of illumination and bonfires, and the provinces responded in similar fashion. Then came addresses of congratulation, and offers of money to replace some plate which her Majesty had claimed as personal property, but was withheld by the King's command. On the 23rd of November, she addressed a message to the Commons, soliciting their continued protection, and a provision for her support; having refused the offer of an annuity from the Crown, subsequent to the relinquishment of her attainder. As Mr. Denman was reading this message to the House, they were interrupted

by the summons of the Usher to attend the prorogation of Parliament. On the following Sunday, the Queen went to St. Paul's Cathedral to return thanks for her "deliverance from a great peril and affliction;" but the officiating dignitary refused to make any special reference to her presence—giving fresh point to Mr. Denman's striking remark, on the exclusion of her name from the liturgy, that her subjects would nevertheless remember her in the prayer for "all that are desolate and oppressed." He, and his eloquent and indefatigable leader, shared in the popularity of their client, and received, amongst other marks of honour, the freedom of the city of London. It was certainly to their credit, as men and as advocates, that they did not suffer the certainty of the King's displeasure, and consequent exclusion from the high offices which their great abilities justified them in hoping for, to detach them from the Queen's service, or weaken their efforts in her cause.

Early in the next session, the Commons granted her Majesty fifty thousand a-year, and revived in several debates her grievances and faults. But the coronation of the King [July 19, 1821], was the climax of her distresses. She had resolved to assert to the last her claim to be crowned, and actually presented herself at the several doors of the Abbey, to be turned away from each;—not even a noble or fashionable lady of the many who witnessed the repulse, would give up her ticket to the legitimate Queen of England, to her who should have shared the glory of that pompous pageant. A week or two later, her Majesty was reported ill with cold and inflammation. It was true—the fever of the mind had seized at last upon the frame. On the 7th of August, in the fifty-third year of her age, she died—quitting life, according to almost her last words, "without any regret." But not even with life did the troubles of her career terminate. The funeral procession had been ordered to avoid the city—but the populace forced it through, after a conflict with the military escort, in which two men were killed; the Lord Mayor and a cavalcade of gentlemen wearing crape scarfs preceding the hearse. Thence it passed quickly on to Harwich, and embarked its solemn burden for Brunswick—whence, thirty years before, Caroline had come to these unquiet shores, a volatile girl, "vastly happy with her future expectations." Was there ever a more bitter satire on human hopes of happiness!

These two years [1820-21] were not without incidents of interest, apart from that of this painful episode. In the few weeks during which Parliament sat prior to its dissolution [February 1820], Lord John Russell made his first attempt at Parliamentary reform, by bringing forward a bill to forbid the issue of writs to the four notoriously rotten boroughs, Grampound, Penryn, Camelford, and Barnstable; which passed the lower House, and was lost in the upper by a majority only of eleven. Then came the elec-



tions, which resulted in a House very similar in complexion to the last ; and a miserable "insurrection" at Glasgow, known as the battle of Bonnymuir, in which several poor creatures were wounded.—Notwithstanding that the manufacturing and commercial districts were entering upon a cycle of prosperity, the agricultural interest was still under the harrow, and loud in its complaints, which the House referred to a select committee.—Sir James Mackintosh, in prosecution of the philanthropic task which he had taken upon himself in the room of Romilly, gained an encouraging modicum of success. By the passage of three out of six bills, shoplifting to the value of five shillings was at last taken from the number of capital offences ; and poaching by night—except with blackened face!—mutilation of cattle, threatening with death, personal assault, and some other felonious offences, were likewise reduced to the second class of punishments. There was also abolished, by a clause in the second of these bills, a remnant of ancestral legislation, which one smiles to think should have so long cumbered the statute-book—the laws, namely, which made a gipsy liable to death for remaining one year in the country, or a known thief if found in the northern counties ; which protected Westminster-bridge from injury by the fear of the gallows, and diminished the immunities of the Southwark Mint by forbidding, under the same threat, a disguised person to take refuge in its purlieus.—Mr. Brougham was not so absorbed in the Queen's defence as to relinquish for a session his educational efforts. He this year [June 27th brought forward a scheme for "the education of the poor in England and Wales," which, the first definite proposal of the kind, was wrecked upon the rock-a-head which has since proved fatal to several better plans. According to the investigations of his famous committee, the proportion of children of a fit age for instruction was ten per cent. upon the whole population ; and the proportion receiving instruction, of whatever quality, only six per cent. The information on which this dismal statement was founded had been gathered exclusively from clergymen of the Establishment ; and the remedial plan proposed seems to have been devised under the same auspices : we wonder at this day that its noble and liberal author could have reconciled himself to its adoption, even for the sake of the momentous work he hoped thereby to advance. The proposed national schools were all to be conducted by teachers who had been recommended by clergymen, and who, on their appointment, would take the sacrament according to the rites of the Church of England. Dissenters had not then the theoretical objection which a large proportion of them now entertain to governmental interference with education—nor were they accustomed to resolute encounters with the Church—but to this they could not submit without renouncing all their rights as religionists and as men ; taxing themselves for the perversion of their own children ; and sacrificing the

mental independence of the people, the essential object and highest secular blessing of education, to a system of meagre mechanical instruction, and unmitigated priestly influence. They could afford to despise the imputation of indifference to the evils of popular ignorance, since they had been the first to break in upon its reign, and had found their chiefest obstruction in the immobility or opposition of the clergy. They did, on this occasion, arouse themselves in alarm, and act with vigour. The Deputies of the Three Denominations, and other Dissenting organizations, waited on Mr. Brougham, and petitioned the House, with such effect that the bill was withdrawn after a first reading.—Meanwhile, a powerful though silent educational process was going on in the national mind. The political prisoners, with whom the gaols were crowded, sent forth a dumb but incessant appeal to a people deeply saddened rather than inflamed by what they had suffered, and to a middle class that had begun to reflect upon its own possible identity of interest with the poorer orders. The effect was seen in the great number of petitions for parliamentary reform which were presented early in the session of 1821. Mr. Lambton (afterwards Lord Durham) founded on these a motion for inquiry into the condition of the nation; which excited so little interest that it was lost upon the narrow division of fifty-five to forty-three. Lord John Russell was little more successful with a series of resolutions on the state of the representation, which were negatived by two hundred and seventy-nine to a hundred and eight; but he was compensated by carrying through both Houses a bill disfranchising Gram-pound. Lord Eldon, with tears and doleful predictions, urged the peers to resist this first turn of the helm towards the whirlpool of democracy; and succeeded in transferring to the county of York the two members which the Commons had resolved to confer upon the important town of Leeds. The lower House was disposed to resist this interference with its internal arrangements, but Lord John persuaded them to acquiesce in the mutilation of his measure:—an act of submission to hereditary wisdom which we may hereafter look back upon as characteristic.

There were two other matters which occupied the attention of Parliament and the country. One of these was, the proceedings of a body calling itself the Constitutional Association. Its object was the reverse of that of the societies which bore this designation forty or fifty years before. It aimed not to develop, but in its own phrase, "to uphold," the British constitution—including all those anomalies and iniquities which had grown up since the Revolution which defined and established it. And it pretended to maintain the constitution by waging systematic war upon what Englishmen are accustomed to consider its palladium—the liberty of the press. It threatened with prosecution the publishers and vendors of whatever it was pleased to consider seditious or irreligious

books, pamphlets, or papers. It was an extensive organization, collecting large funds, and having on its books forty peers and bishops, a number of M.P.'s, and of course numerous clergymen. The freedom of printing was no doubt more abused at this time than ever before or since;—the most sacred subjects were treated with disgusting ribaldry, and personal character was venomously assailed, from private spleen or reckless partisanship. But the evil was obviously the product of the policy which these friends of religion, law, and order, had enabled the Government to pursue. Men, forbidden to speak their honest thoughts, gave vent to their worst feelings in anonymous print; and fair political discussion being prohibited, caricature and slander gave employment to penmen who must else have starved. The Association began its work in December, 1820; and soon terrified the poorer booksellers and newsmen into avoidance of democratic or sceptical wares, while such as Hone and Carlile were but exasperated. "The Bridge-street Gang" was the nickname bestowed on the Association by one of these, from the locality of its office; and even the respectable public came in a very short time to look upon it as over zealous in its vocation, if no worse. It was felt to be intolerable that members of the highest court of appeal should, in another capacity, set the law in motion; and judges permitted defendants to set aside jurors who by their connexion with the Association were virtually prosecutors. Mr. Brougham added to his public services by calling the attention of Government to the matter in the House of Commons; and though no steps were taken to test the legality of the organization, the public was felt to be so hostile that the members quietly dropped off, and within a year, what at first seemed a very threatening foe, was virtually extinct.

The other and greater affair was, the entrance of the Catholic question upon its final stage. Grattan had come up to London in the spring of 1820, to resume his veteran leadership, but died before any Parliamentary action could be taken. That year nothing was done; but, in the summer of '21, Mr. Plunket succeeded in carrying through the Commons a bill not essentially different from that which is now known as the Catholic Relief Act. The majorities were decided, though not large—that on the third reading, nineteen; but the "intellectual preponderance" of its supporters was so manifest, that every one concluded the battle was over in the Commons. In the Lords, it was met by a very great preponderance neither of intellect nor numbers. The Duke of York decided the waverers in their following of Eldon, by an intimation that his royal brother and himself inherited the conscientious scruples of their father, and could never consent to that abrogation of the coronation oath which the admission of Catholics to Parliament would imply. So a majority of thirty-nine was found to

reject the bill on its introduction; and the old "Thank God for a House of Lords," was joined with a new loyal and religious toast—"The thirty-nine peers who saved the thirty-nine articles!" It was now a struggle between two constituent powers of the realm. How the people of England and Ireland looked upon the strife, we shall next see.

## CHAPTER VII.

DEATH OF NAPOLEON—THE SECOND CONGRESS OF VIENNA—THE SPANISH AND ITALIAN REVOLUTIONS—THE GREEK WAR OF INDEPENDENCE—RESTORATION OF ABSOLUTISM IN ITALY BY AUSTRIA—THE CONGRESS OF VERONA—SUICIDE OF LORD LONDONDEBRY—ACCESSION OF MR. CANNING TO POWER—HIS DIFFICULTIES AND TRIUMPH—INVASION OF SPAIN BY A FRENCH ARMY—THE NECESSITY OF PEACE TO ENGLAND—RECOGNITION OF THE INDEPENDENCE OF THE SPANISH COLONIES—DEATH OF LOUIS THE EIGHTEENTH AND THE Czar ALEXANDER—REVOLUTION AND COUNTER-REVOLUTION IN PORTUGAL—MR. CANNING'S EXPOSITION AND DEFENCE OF HIS POLICY—THE KINGDOM OF GREECE—THE ORIENTAL DISPUTE—THE ALIEN ACT—THE ASHANTEE AND BURMESE WARS.

NAPOLEON was dead. On the 5th of May, 1821, he had quietly given up, in his island prison, that mighty spirit which had for twenty years "filled the post-horns of all Europe" at their every blast; and through six years of captivity had attracted apprehensive or regretful glances. We need not here moot the method of his treatment or demeanour—whether his gaolers added to their fears the deeper meanness of needless indignities; or whether his own bearing was that worthy of a great man in adversity—"a sight for the gods." Nor will we attempt to moralize upon the spectacle of that figure, grown corpulent and diseased, gazing from an insulated rock upon the ocean that but faintly imaged his own unrest—or of the burial beneath the willow. The brief *en passant* record of Napoleon's death is more impressive to us who have gone over the previous pages, than could be the most elaborate éloge.

Napoleon dead, surely the epoch of peace had come. The kings who had solemnly proclaimed him troubler of the nations, might surely congratulate each other and their subjects, with the meek gladness which became so holy a fraternity, upon the descent of the arch-foe of God and man to a prison more secure than even St. Helena. Rather might it bring a smile to the cold cheek of the dead to see himself avenged upon his victors—to see them plagued by the spirits they had raised against him, and themselves about to be gathered, like him, to the grave, but unlike him, by all unhonoured and unwept. In the summer of 1821, the members of the Holy Alliance were in dismay and perplexity—within five or six years they had nearly all been

smitten with violent or sudden death.—The great events of that period we will endeavour to narrate in a single chapter.

We have brought down [chap. i. p. 92,] continental affairs to the Congress of Carlsbad, held in the summer of 1819, in consequence of that intense discontent which took its fiercest shape in the assassination of Kotzebue. The resolutions then adopted—including the appointment of a sort of central committee of vigilance, at Mayence—were so little effectual in the suppression of German liberalism, now strengthened by sympathy with that of France, in mutual forgetfulness of the war of 1813, that Prince Metternich convened another Congress of Vienna at the close of the year, intending to draw yet closer the bonds which united the minor states in obedience to the determined absolutism of Austria, by restricting the power of the provincial diets, and increasing their obligations to federal action. While the Congress was sitting [on the 1st of January, 1820] an insurrection broke out near Cadiz, which, suppressed at first, revived and rapidly spread over all Spain. It took the form of an armed demand for the constitution of 1812. The army, officers and men, generally siding with the insurgents, the King did not hold out long. On the morning of the 10th of March, he convoked the Cortes—in the evening, a prisoner in his palace, he proclaimed the constitution: it would abolish the Inquisition, but scarcely interrupt his favourite occupation of embroidering petticoats for the Virgin. In August the Portuguese claimed and obtained from John the Sixth a similar boon. The Italian peninsula next upheaved with the shock of the Iberian. First the subjects of old Ferdinand of Naples wrested from him just such a constitution as Ferdinand of Spain had conceded. Then the liberals of Piedmont and Lombardy prepared to rise, but trusting to Charles Albert, were betrayed by him then, as Prince of Casignano, as they have since been betrayed by him as King of Sardinia. Yet further south and east, sea and land were vibrating to the impulse that seemed to have quickened the most downtrodden peoples into strength and indignation. Greece had risen against her ancient foe and cruel oppressor—with the sympathies of all Christendom on her side; and with special expectation of help from the Czar, though his brother was then torturing the nobles of Poland in the streets of Warsaw. Alexander was actually preparing to assist the Greeks, when Metternich—who had a double objection to Russia's interference; the fear of her aggrandisement, and the danger of encouraging resistance to the legitimate tyranny of even the Grand Turk—checked his benevolence by disclosing the existence of a conspiracy amongst the officers of his own Guard. The streets of every university town in Germany every night echoed with the revolutionary strains of students and young burghers, and from Hamburg to Frankfort-on-the-Maine were displayed the symbols of Teutonic freedom and unity. The King of Prussia was improvising in his yet youthful king-

dom an order of nobility, while the King of Sweden was forbidding the Commons of Norway to abolish their ancient aristocracy. The Government of Denmark were consigning the young preacher, Dampé, to an imprisonment that only terminated with his life. Was France tranquil, amidst the turmoil, beneath the sceptre of her restored Bourbons? Quite otherwise. Her soil, like that of Italy and Germany, was "honeycombed with secret societies;" and hatred of the Jesuit-governed dynasty frenzied one brain at least into bloodthirstiness. One Sunday night [February 14, 1820], as the Duke de Berri, second son of the reigning monarch's brother—and, as the former and the elder son of the latter were childless, a presumptive heir to the throne—was leaving the opera, he was stabbed by one Louvel. The Spanish and Neapolitan revolutions naturally aggravated the alarm caused by this melancholy event. The contiguity of Spain to France, the consequent facility of communication between the liberals of both countries, and the relationship of the reigning families, rendered it probable that the stronger government would interfere in behalf of the weaker. Under pretence of shutting out from France a fever then prevalent about Barcelona, a line of troops was drawn along the foot of the Pyrenees; and was not removed when the epidemic was no longer a tenable excuse for their presence. In the spring of 1821, an Austrian army invaded the Neapolitan territory, and before the summer was over, the unfortunate revolutionists had expiated on the field or scaffold, or were suffering in more cruel captivity, the sin of presuming to change their form of government—for with no other crime have they ever been charged: our own Revolution of 1688 was not more peaceably accomplished. The invading army, forty thousand strong, was quartered for five years upon the inhabitants, and every soldier authorized to take double pay. Every town of Italy in which liberalism had appeared, was similarly visited; literally thousands of persons, chiefly of the higher or middle ranks, suffering imprisonment and ruin. By the summer of 1822, it was clear that a French invasion of Spain had been resolved on, and that to obtain the sanction of the other powers of Europe was the real object of the diplomatic congress summoned to assemble in September at Verona, to discuss the Greek, Russian, and Turkish business. England was the only sovereignty from which opposition was the least likely; and that rather from the old national jealousy of French influence in Spain, than from the natural indignation of one constitutional government at the proposed suppression of another. The minister who had represented her at Vienna would do so at Verona, changed only in name from Castlereagh to Londonderry. The hatred which he had inspired wherever men were struggling for freedom—the execration the mention of him excited in every secret society on the continent, as well as in every democratic club at home—was security enough for England's consent to the trampling-out of Spanish liberalism.

The congress of Verona was opened in due time, and England was represented there—but not by Lord Londonderry. He had betaken himself, at the close of the session [August the 6th], to his seat at Foot's Cray, leaving his colleagues to attend the King to Scotland. They had observed of late that he was easily harassed and wearied—they were even perplexed and alarmed by his occasional talk of visions, and of horrible plots against his private character; but a few weeks' rest and ruralizing, and then the gaiety of an Italian city, it was thought would restore the balance of his powers. On the morning of the 18th of August, his valet entered his chamber as usual, but found him on the floor in a pool of his own blood—he had cut the carotid artery with a penknife he had bought the day before. Extraordinary was the sensation produced by this event. We, who live in times when the bitterest political antagonisms do not override common humanity, are shocked to read how eagerly men told each other the tidings, how faces brightened at the hearing, and how the gashed body was greeted with acclamations by the populace as it was borne to its final depository in Westminster Abbey. This is so unlike the English character, that we cannot but believe there was something in the public bearing of the man to account for it; and all that we are told of his private generosity and kindness, his strong consciousness of rectitude and truthful courage, fails to divest his dreadful death of a retributive aspect. The discrepancy between the feelings inspired by the man and the ruler, is one of a class of facts the key to which has yet to be found.

The Duke of Wellington went to Verona in the place of Lord Londonderry. The change seemed of little significance—but it was in truth the turning point in our foreign policy. He went not, as Castlereagh would have gone, the representative of his own mind and will; but as the mouth and hand of a mind and will now for the first time uppermost in English councils. Of the millions of men to whom the news of Londonderry's untimely end was as the voice of fate, it was most emphatically so to George Canning. Refusing to participate in the proceedings against Queen Caroline, he resigned his place on the Board of Control, and spent the year in travel. On his return, there was room for him at the Cabinet-table, would the King have consented. Sidmouth was bent on retiring—"because," he says, "my official bed was become comparatively a bed of roses;" that is, there were no more plots to detect or seditions to put down. He was succeeded in the Home Office, very quietly, by Mr. Peel, before secretary for Ireland—introduced by the retiring minister with an eulogy on his "becoming and creditable" demeanour. To strengthen the weakened ministry, a coalition with the Grenville section of the Whigs was accepted as a sore necessity. The old nobleman who gave a name to that party, would give nothing more than his name to

the ministry: he had retired from public life, and would not return to it. His friend the Marquis of Buckingham, was made a duke; Mr. Charles Wynne took the presidency of the Board of Control; and other retainers received rich prizes for the few votes and lessened influence they brought. That the Marquis of Wellesley succeeded Lord Talbot as Viceroy of Ireland, was the only positive gain to the cause of good government. Throughout these changes, the country kept its eye on Mr. Canning—now the more conspicuous by his isolation. As an orator, he was admitted to be the first of his age—genius for statesmanship seemed to sit upon his lofty brow, and to breathe through his eloquence—and his administrative talent had been fully proved and trained in the subordinate offices he had filled. The East India Company resolved to avail themselves of the high ability which a king's ill-temper prevented the country from employing. The announcement that he would shortly proceed to India as Governor-General produced an almost universal feeling of shame and regret; but nothing could be done. At the close of the session of 1822, he went down to Liverpool to take leave of his constituents, and to spend a few days with Mr. Gladstone (father to the present member for the University of Oxford), prior to embarkation. It was on his journey down that news reached him of the terrible end of his old Wimbledon Common opponent. The leave-taking was turned into a festival; although he assured the five hundred gentlemen who entertained him that he knew no more of what would ensue than the humblest in the crowds that cheered him in the streets, they felt it impossible he could now be spared. It was not till a month later (September the 11th) that the Foreign Office was offered him by the premier, Lord Liverpool—his old school-fellow and unswerving friend, Jenkinson. It was neither offered nor accepted without a struggle. Canning must have felt like one stepping into the place of the fallen in battle; for he knew the jealousies, hatreds, and distrusts, that would now be let loose upon him. It was a standing accusation against him, from all parties, that he was an adventurer;—with Tories and Whigs, it was his sin that, not being born of one of the ruling families, he was not content to serve and be patronized by them—with Radicals, that, being one of the people, he consorted with aristocrats, and was proud as the proudest in his bearing. Such are the inevitable incidence of a false position! He had replied to this prejudice in 1816, in language that inflamed the former class to undying animosity:—“To this charge, as I understand it, I am willing to plead guilty. A representative of the people, I am one of the people; and I present myself to those who choose me with only the claims of character (be they what they may), unaccompanied by patrician patronage or party recommendation. . . . There is a political creed which assigns to a certain combination of great families a right to dictate to the sovereign, and to influence the people; and



this doctrine of hereditary aptitude for administration is, singularly enough, most prevalent among those who find nothing more laughable than the principle of legitimacy in the Crown. To this theory I have never subscribed. If to depend directly upon the people, as their representative in Parliament; if, as a servant of the Crown, to lean on no other support than that of public confidence—if that be to be an adventurer, I plead guilty to the charge: and I would not exchange that situation, to whatever taunts it may expose me, for all the advantages which might be derived from an ancestry of a hundred generations.\* With what other obstacles he had to contend, we shall see as we proceed: suffice it to say, for the present, that the pride which might justly accompany the consciousness that he was an inexorable necessity in the State, was attended with a sense of isolation that might well give pause to his ambition.\* The effect of his presence in the Cabinet was instantly felt at Verona. Thither the Duke departed on the 17th, bearing with him these very decided instructions from the pen of the new Foreign Secretary:—"If there be a determined project to interfere by force, or by menace, in the present struggle in Spain, so convinced are his Majesty's Government of the uselessness and danger of any such interference, so objectionable does it appear to them in principle, as well as utterly impracticable in execution, that when the necessity arrives, or (I would rather say) when the opportunity offers, I am to instruct your Grace at once frankly and peremptorily to declare, that to any such interference, come what may, his Majesty will not be a party." The "opportunity" soon offered. Chateaubriand—who was then French Minister of Foreign Affairs—set forth in his most effective style, and to willing listeners, the mischiefs of the Spanish Revolution, and the special reasons that would justify France in interfering. The English Duke delivered his testimony—even gave it to be understood that his nation would have desired a very different re-settlement of the Italian governments—and withdrew from the Congress; which broke up with the understanding that France would work her way, but without formally ap-

\* Lord Brougham, in his "Sketches of Statesmen of the reign of George the Third," thus describes another difficulty to which Mr. Canning exposed himself:—"With the common run of ordinary mortals, who compose the mass of every country—with the plainer sort of men, who form the bulk of every audience, and who especially bear sway in their own appointed place, the assembly that represents the English people—it would have been contrary to nature if one so lively, so fond of his joke, so careless whom his merriment might offend, so ready to turn the general laugh against any victim—had been popular, nay, had failed to prove the object of suspicion, and even dislike. The duller portion, over whose heads his lighter missiles flew, were offended with one who spake so lightly; it was almost personal to them if he jested, and a classical allusion was next thing to an affront. 'He will be laughing at the quorum or talking metaphysics next,' said the squire representing a county. But even they who emulated him and favoured his claims, did not much like the man who had made them so merry, for they felt what it was that they laughed at, and it might be their own turn to-morrow."

proving it, and without taking any positive action on the nominal subject of their assembly, the Greek war. On the re-opening of Parliament, the King's speech announced the course that had been taken, and added, that his Majesty would do all in his power to avert the calamity of war between France and Spain. The address was carried with unanimity. Mr. Brougham delivered on the occasion one of his greatest speeches, vindicating the revolutionists, consequently reprobating the Holy Alliance, and advocating the position which the Government had taken up. Mr. Canning was not then in the House, not having been re-elected; but in a correspondence with the flowery Chateaubriand he ably maintained his position. The French King, on opening the Chambers, announced the intended invasion of Spain, and invoked the blessing of Heaven on his attempt to give the Spaniards such a constitution as would be most fitted for them. The English Minister commented on this both by letter and in Parliament, declaring that the principle involved—that political rights could be given or withheld by Kings at their pleasure—struck at the root of the British constitution. There were many who would have defended the Spanish constitution as if it had been our own—by force of arms; and upon whom the news that the Duc d'Angoulême had crossed the Pyrenees, unresisted by more than a British protest, fell as tidings of a heavy dishonour as well as of sympathetic grief. The new Minister was placed in the trying position of having to restrain, at the dictate of his judgment, the generous impulses he had helped to excite—exposed at once to the taunts of enemies and the reproaches of disappointed admirers. But he was equal, and far more than equal, to both. In the House of Commons a motion of censure upon his policy, as feeble and inadequate, was met by an amendment expressive of approbation and gratitude. The debate was thrice adjourned; and, on the last night, Mr. Canning vindicated the course he had resolved upon in one of the most remarkable of modern speeches—almost equalling, in its effect, what we read with incredulous wonder of the masterpieces of ancient eloquence. He showed that the next best thing to preventing a war between France and Spain, was to prevent that war from becoming general—as, in the event of England's interference, all the powers of Europe would have arrayed themselves against the latter countries; for so early as the 5th of January had Russia, Austria, and Prussia, withdrawn their ambassadors from Madrid;—that the evil had been confined, by the moral influence of England, to its least injurious form;—that the Holy Alliance had been virtually broken up—and that it was still open to England to prevent the extension of French interference to Portugal, as was threatened, and to the South American colonies of Spain. The intended ostracism was converted into an ovation. But for an accident—the doors of the House being closed before the few remaining non-contents could leave—the amendment would

have been carried unanimously; as it was, the majority was three hundred and fifty-two to twenty!

The course of events, and the Minister's personal exertions, made the whole nation participate in the pacific enthusiasm with which he had inspired the Commons. The Spaniards behaved with a characteristic mixture of bravado and cowardice. The sight of the French columns was sufficient to turn the balance of the horrid civil war which had been some time waging, in favour of the "Bands of the Faithful;" as the soldiers of the Church and King were termed. Several British officers—among others, the brave Sir Robert Wilson; who had been disgraced for the very decided part he had taken with Queen Caroline—went over to aid the Liberals; and their coffers were replenished by the contributions of British citizens. But our countrymen gained little more than the mortification of getting wounded in miserable skirmishes, which their allies left them to fight; and of seeing the army they had gone to lead go over in troops to the invader. On the 24th of May, Madrid was entered; and by the 3rd of October, even Cadiz, in which the Cortes had shut up themselves and their King, surrendered. The most generous of nations could scarcely think it worth while to go to war for such a parcel of priest-ridden slaves;—but none could forbear a pang on learning that Riego, the luckless author of the revolution, had been hanged on a gibbet high as Haman's, every concession revoked, and the unfortunate country saddled with an army of occupation forty thousand strong. Mr. Canning aided this cooling-down of blind ardour into an intelligible and judicious zeal for European liberty, by the speeches he delivered in our principal towns during a sort of autumnal tour. A passage in his harangue to the people of Plymouth, has taken its place among the highest flights of British oratory:—"The resources created by peace are means of war. In cherishing those resources, we but accumulate those means. Our present repose is no more a proof of inability to act, than the state of inertness and inactivity in which I have seen those mighty masses that float in the waters above your town, is a proof they are devoid of strength, and incapable of being fitted for action. You well know, gentlemen, how soon one of those stupendous masses, now reposing on their shadows in perfect stillness—how soon, upon any call of patriotism or of necessity, it would assume the likeness of an animated being, instinct with life and motion; how soon it would ruffle, as it were, its swelling plumage; how quickly it would put forth all its beauty and its bravery, collect its scattered elements of strength; and awaken its dormant thunder. Such as is one of these magnificent machines, when springing from inaction into a display of its might, such is England herself; while apparently passive and motionless, she silently concentrates the power to be put forth on an adequate occasion."

Such words as these are deeds. And there were more such to be spoken. When the Houses reassembled [February 3rd, 1824], there were still more declaimers about what might and should have been done—the Marquis of Lansdowne at once lamenting the fate of Spanish liberalism, and advocating the recognition of the independence of those South American states which his party had heretofore insisted on holding to their allegiance. Mr. Brougham poured a flood of invective upon France and Austria; but let fall a sentence which justified the ministerial policy more amply than could the most laboured apology—"England stands bound over in recognizances of eight hundred millions to keep the peace." Not that either Canning or Brougham considered that these heavy securities precluded us from the possibility of "a just and necessary war;" they were both of opinion that there was a line—unhappily within view—beyond which even the maintenance of peace would be calamitous and disgraceful; would be the violation of obligations weightier than any amount of debt. Mr. Canning had distinctly assured the country—and his words had been re-echoed even from the Andes—that should France attempt to reconquer, for herself or Spain, the revolted American colonies, the attempt would be resisted. We may be unable to see why the principle of non-intervention should not hold good on both sides of the Atlantic; and with what grace this declaration could come from the statesman who, a few years before, had carried a bill restraining English subjects from joining the insurgent colonists. The Minister, however, acted even up to the spirit of his declaration. In October, he communicated to the French Government his determination, and requested an explanation of their intentions; at the same time accrediting consuls to the independent state of Buenos Ayres. Prince Polignac (who had succeeded Chateaubriand) explicitly avowed the desire of France to unite with the other powers of Europe in endeavouring "to bring back to a principle of union in government, whether monarchical or aristocratical, a people among whom absurd and dangerous theories were now keeping up agitation and disunion." Mr. Canning's reply was decisive—that every people has an exclusive right to select its own form of government; and that England was equally ready to recognise monarchies and republics.

Simple as this act appears, it was the last of a long and complicated series. From the time of the American Revolution, the independence of these Spanish colonies had been alternately favoured and discouraged by English statesmen. The aid afforded by Spain to our insurgent transatlantic subjects naturally inclined our rulers to look with no displeasure upon an insurrection of Creoles and Indians which broke out in 1785, in Peru and New Granada. These states had their Washington, or one who aspired to be such—Francisco de Miranda. He served in the army sent by Spain to

assist the North Americans, and after the war visited Europe. At the time of the French Revolution, he was submitting to Mr. Pitt a plan which would probably have been adopted, but for the anti-Gallican alliance of Spain with this country. The Creole then transferred his schemes and his sword to the French Directory, who wished him to subdue for them St. Domingo, before attempting with their aid to revolutionize the southern continent.\* While thus dancing attendance on European powers, his countrymen were rashly helping themselves; for of several conspiracies set afoot before the close of the century, all failed, though countenanced by the English naval force which captured Trinidad. A delegation joined Miranda [1797] in once more negotiating with Mr. Pitt; and this time the plan included the co-operation of the United States, to whom Florida was to be ceded, while England was to receive all the Spanish islands, except Cuba, and a money payment for her ships and supplies. It seems to have been the indisposition of President Adams to adopt this plan, which retarded it until the Peace of Amiens rendered it impracticable. But it was revived with the renewal of the war; and though the United States government could lend no avowed assistance, means were found to equip American ships and volunteers, and Miranda landed from a fleet of fifteen vessels, at the town of Le Vela de Caro, a force sufficient to raise the country. His hopes were again dashed by a change of British policy, and he returned to England. The Whigs had all along been averse to revolutionizing the Spanish colonies—except for the short period when the mother-country was in alliance with us against France; but they had no objection to their conquest—it was, indeed, attempted in the unfortunate Buenos Ayres expedition, the commanders of which were expressly directed to discountenance hopes of any further change of government than the substitution of an English for a Spanish king. The invasion of Spain by the French Emperor produced another change of relations. The old mother-country party were ready enough to transfer their allegiance to Bonaparte at the bidding of their king; whilst those who had been fighting

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\* The vast possessions of Spain in the West were originally divided into two vice-royalties—Mexico and Peru; the former covering about thirty degrees of latitude in the northern continent, and the latter running down as far into the south, passing behind and coming out beneath the Portuguese Brazil. As these immense tracts of country became subjected to survey, they were redivided for the purposes of government. Peru was parcelled out at different times into the vice-royalties or captain-generalships of New Granada, Rio de la Plata, or Buenos Ayres, Venezuela, Chili, Guatimala, Havannah (including Cuba), and Porto Rico. The aboriginal inhabitants of these wastes did not—as in the north—fade away before the Europeans, but submitted to and intermingled with them. The Creoles, or offspring of this mixture of races, were almost universally, though not legally, excluded from public employments; and were exposed, equally with the Indian population, to the insults and extortions of officials sent from the mother-country with authority to pay themselves. It was naturally some time before the two made common cause; but at length the Creoles felt that they were more Americans than Spaniards, and the result was, after a long and bloody struggle, the establishment of the now existing Republics—Mexico, La Plata, Peru, Chili, Bolivia, Colombia, and Paraguay.

or hoping for separation, became suddenly loyal, and nearly a hundred million of dollars were transmitted to the Junta in 1808 and '9. The latter, however, adopted towards their valuable auxiliaries a bearing as arrogant and oppressive as that of the kings; acting on the theory to which one of their functionaries gave the insolent expression, that if a malester or Castilian cobbler were the sole remaining Spaniard, he would be the rightful governor of the Indies. A more favourable insurrection than any former was the consequence; and in 1811 a junta was elected and installed in Valladolid. This body invited Ferdinand the Seventh to renounce his Spanish kingdom for that of Mexico, but with the accompaniment of a constitution. In 1813, so brilliant had been their military successes that a National Congress was elected, and published a declaration of independence; but in about three years the Congress was dissolved by one of its own generals, and in two years more the insurrection was virtually at an end in Mexico and New Granada. In Venezuela, it was otherwise. Not less ready than the other provinces to aid the mother-country against the invader, it also wisely determined to extort from her necessity some just concessions. In 1810, a provisional Government was established, professing allegiance to Ferdinand, and setting about some great reforms, including the abolition of the slave-trade. Great efforts were made by the Spanish party in London to prevent Miranda joining his fellow-countrymen; but he succeeded in getting away, was enthusiastically received, elected to the National Congress, made commander-in-chief, and, finally [July, 1811], President, or rather Dictator, of the independent Republic of Venezuela. In the spring of the next year, an earthquake destroyed the city of Caracoe, on the day of a solemn festival; and the superstitious people (who had proclaimed Roman Catholicism the religion of the State) were easily persuaded that this was the judgment of Heaven for their disloyalty. The tide turned, the fortunes of the republic became adverse; Miranda was seized by Bolivar and others on pretence of treachery, delivered over to the Spanish authorities, and died in prison in 1816. Meanwhile, Bolivar headed another insurrection, conducted on the horrid principle of "war to the death," was in turn made Dictator, and ruled as a military despot. Extraordinary were the vicissitudes experienced, and frightful the sufferings mutually inflicted; but they ended, as we have seen, in the separation from Spain of all her American states, and the virtual recognition by England of the independence of all in formally treating with Buenos Ayres.

We have seen that Mr. Canning was censured for tardiness in taking this step by those with whose party opposition to South American independence was a tradition; but, to complete the inversion, Lord Sidmouth and the old Tories endeavoured to cast him out of the Government for taking the step at all, and twice he had to tender his resignation in consequence of

these intrigues. But he surmounted them, and his triumph was the theme of a great speech from his friend and supporter, Lord Dudley and Ward, at the opening of the session of 1825—his own celebrated vindication was not made till almost two years later. Within that period, his great object, the dissolution of the Holy Alliance, had been virtually accomplished by a superhuman hand. Louis the Eighteenth had died—so had Charles of Sardinia, Ferdinand of Naples, and the Czar Alexander. The Kings of France and Naples died within a year of each other—the latter, the “Nestor” of the Holy Alliance, as he was ridiculously styled, found dead in his bed—and both had the satisfaction of knowing that the untimely end of their kinsman, the Duc de Berri, had not cut off a heir to the French throne; the Duchess having given birth to a son in September 1820, the present Count de Chambord and possible Henry the Fifth. It was on the 1st of December, 1825, that Alexander died—of a fever, at Taganrog, on the Black Sea; whence he was supposed to have retired from fear of a very extensive conspiracy at Petersburg, and which was certainly formidable enough to deter his demoniac brother Constantine from ascending the throne; how Nicholas, the next in succession, escaped the doom that threatened his family is yet a mystery. More practically important events had transpired at Lisbon. The overthrow of the Spanish constitution by the entrance of the French was imitated by the absolutists of Portugal, headed by the Queen, her second son, Don Miguel, and the French ambassador. The amiable but feeble John the Sixth was deposed, and was glad to take refuge in a British man-of-war; the Cortes were abolished, and the restoration of Church properties commenced. The reactionaries would have introduced a part of the Spanish army of occupation, but this the firmness of the British minister prevented. In April of 1824 Don Miguel was in turn sent upon his travels, the old King restored, and the constitution re-established. In May of the next year, the independence of Brazil was acknowledged, and John the Sixth's elder son, Don Pedro, who had long been resident there, was elected King. In the following March, John died, leaving by his will his daughter, Isabella Maria, Regent of the kingdom, in the absence of her brother Pedro; who, prevented by the conditions on which he had taken the throne of Brazil from re-uniting the two crowns, preferred to keep that which had been conferred by election. He held, however, that he had still a right to dispose of the Portuguese crown, and accordingly settled it upon his eldest daughter, Donna Maria da Gloria, accompanying the gift to her with that of a constitution to the nation; the liberal portion of whom received both with acclamation. The constitution was formally established on the 31st July, but the absolutists violently opposed it, and were countenanced by the representatives of all the continental despotisms. Pedro had sought to conciliate his brother Don Miguel by

espousing him to the young queen, his niece; but neither would he thus nullify his pretensions, nor would his partisans consent to coalesce with the liberals in Church and State, who identified their cause with the new settlement of the crown. Civil war was threatened. Some of Don Miguel's military adherents led their regiments across the frontier, and set up his standard. The Spanish Government disclaimed participation in the proceeding on the remonstrance of the British and Portuguese courts; but the nucleus was permitted to remain and spread. Invasion was threatened at several points, and so formidable did appearances become that the Regency directly claimed the interposition of Great Britain, as on behalf of an ancient and faithful ally. It was withheld until distinct acts of aggression could be deposed to. On Friday [December the 11th] it was officially communicated that the frontier had been crossed in several places; by the Tuesday following, English troops were on their march, and Mr. Canning stated and defended what had been done in a speech which charmed the House and country into unanimous and high-wrought enthusiasm. It was on this occasion that he uttered the celebrated sentence—in allusion to his being the first European minister to recognise South American independence—"I called the New World into existence to redress the balance of the Old." Some passages of this oration must be given in justice to the policy of this great statesman:—"The vote for which I call, is a vote for the defence of Portugal, not a vote of war against Spain. . . . In thus fulfilling the stipulations of ancient treaties, of the existence and obligation of which all the world are aware, we, according to the universally-admitted construction of the law of nations, neither make war upon the assailant, nor give to that assailant, much less to any other power, just cause for war against ourselves. We go to Portugal in the discharge of these sacred obligations. When there, nothing shall be done by us to enforce the establishment of the constitution; but we must take care that nothing shall be done by others to prevent it from being fairly carried into effect. Internally let the Portuguese settle their own affairs; but with respect to external force, while Great Britain has an arm to raise, it must be raised against the efforts of any power that shall attempt forcibly to control the choice and fetter the independence of Portugal. . . . There are reasons which entirely satisfy my judgment that nothing short of a point of national faith or national honour would justify, at the present moment, any voluntary approximation to the possibility of war. . . . Some years ago, in the discussions respecting the war against Spain, I stated that the position of this country in the present state of the world was one of neutrality, not only between contending nations, but between conflicting principles; and that it was by neutrality alone that we could maintain that balance the preservation of which I believed to be essential



to the welfare of mankind. I then said, that I feared the next war which would be kindled in Europe would be a war not so much of armies as of opinions. Not four years have elapsed, and behold my apprehensions realized! It is, to be sure, within narrow limits that this war of opinion is at present confined; but it is a war of opinion in which Spain (whether as government or as nation) is now engaging against Portugal; it is a war which has commenced in hatred of the institutions of Portugal! If into that war this country shall be compelled to enter, we shall enter into it with a sincere and anxious desire to mitigate rather than to exasperate; and to mingle only in the conflict of arms, not in the more fatal conflict of opinions. But I much fear that this country (however earnestly she may endeavour to avoid it) could not, in such case, avoid seeing ranked under her banners all the restless and dissatisfied of any nation with which she might come in conflict. It is the contemplation of this new power in any future war which excites my most anxious apprehension. ! . The situation of England may be compared to that of the ruler of the winds, as described by the poet—

*Celsâ sedet Æolus arce,  
Sceptra tenens; mollitque animos, et tempera iras,  
Ni faciat, maria ac terras cœlumque profundum  
Quippe ferant rapidi secum, vertantque per auras.*

The consequence of letting loose the passions at present chained, would be to produce a scene of desolation which no man can contemplate without horror. Such is the love of peace which the British Government acknowledges, and such the necessity for peace which the circumstances of the world inculcate . . . We go to Portugal not to rule, not to dictate, not to prescribe constitutions, but to defend and preserve the independence of an ally. We go to plant the standard of England on the well-known heights of Lisbon. Where that standard is planted, foreign dominion shall not come!"

Here the orator paused, amidst great cheering from all parts of the House. Mr. Brougham declared that now indeed the nation was governed on wise, liberal, and truly English principles, and its burdens would be cheerfully borne. Mr. Hume was not so sure that the country would be willing to bear an increase of its burdens for the sake of Portugal or the Portuguese, and moved a formal amendment; for which only three or four voted, and which gave the Minister an opportunity of consummating his oratorical triumph. He accepted the comparison between the two cases of 1823 and 1826, and undertook to deduce from them the exposition and the justification of his general policy. He observed upon the favourite notion of Sir R. Wilson and other chivalrous Liberals, that the Government should retaliate upon Spain her encouragement of Portuguese

deserters, by arming the Spanish refugees here, and by the repeal of the Foreign Enlistment Act—which had been passed, “if not at the direct request, for the especial benefit of Spain.” He acknowledged that this would be strictly, even “epigrammatically just;” but all such expedients he disclaimed, dreaded, and deprecated, as a letting loose of fiery spirits that might kindle a European conflagration. He reminded the House that the Government shared the indignation of the people at the invasion of Spain by the French, and resisted it by all means short of war—and he repeated, with striking phraseology and illustration, the reasons why he would not go that length:—“In a war against France at that time, as at any other, you might, perhaps, have acquired military glory; you might, perhaps, have extended your colonial possessions; you might even have achieved, at great cost of blood and treasure, an honourable peace; but as to getting the French out of Spain, that would have been the one object which you almost certainly would not have accomplished: for how seldom, in the whole history of the wars of Europe, has any war between two great powers ended in obtaining the exact, the identical object for which the war was begun!” The hacknied taunt that he had permitted the balance of power to be disturbed, elicited a passage of high historical interest. He described the notion as “the echoes of sentiments which, in the days of William and Anne, animated the debates and dictated the votes of the British Parliament. No peace was in those days thought safe for this country while the crown of Spain continued on the head of a Bourbon. But were not the apprehensions of those days greatly over-stated? Has the power of Spain swallowed up the power of maritime England? or does England still remain, after the lapse of more than a century, during which the crown of Spain has been worn by a Bourbon, niched in a nook of that same Spain, Gibraltar? Again, is the Spain of the present day the Spain whose puissance was expected to shake England from her sphere? No; it was quite another Spain—it was the Spain within the limits of whose empire the sun never set—it was ‘Spain with the Indies,’—that excited the jealousies and alarmed the imaginations of our ancestors. The balance of power! . . . Is it not a standard perpetually varying as civilization advances, and as new nations spring up and take their place among established political communities? The balance of power a century and a half ago, was to be adjusted between France and Spain, the Netherlands, Austria, and England? Some years after that again, Prussia became not only a substantive but a preponderating monarchy. Thus while the balance of power continued in principle the same, the means of adjusting it became more varied and enlarged—enlarged, in proportion, I may say, to the number of weights which might be shifted into one or the other scale. . . . Was there, then, no other mode of resistance than a direct attack upon

France, or a war to be undertaken on the soil of Spain? What if the possession of Spain might be rendered harmless in rival hands—harmless as regarded us and valueless to the possessors? Might not compensation for disparagement be obtained, and the policy of our ancestors vindicated, by means better adapted to the present time? If France occupied Spain, was it necessary, in order to avoid the consequences of that occupation, that we should blockade Cadiz? No! I looked another way. I sought materials of compensation in another hemisphere. Contemplating Spain, such as our ancestors had known her, I resolved that if France had Spain, it should not be ‘Spain with the Indies.’ I called the New World into existence to redress the balance of the Old!”

In the Lords, the Duke of Wellington spoke, in support of the ministerial address in reply to the royal message—the form of procedure in both Houses—and it was carried without a dissentient voice. Parliament then adjourned to the 8th of February; and an armament of five thousand men was fitted out with such celerity, that on Christmas-day the first ship anchored in the Tagus. Mr. Canning’s promptitude and decision were effectual—on the arrival of the fleet, the army on the frontier melted away. He was enjoying at that moment an unbounded popularity—he was the idol and hope of European liberalism. He was to add to his laurels as the minister of peace and freedom, to culminate that popularity and be snatched from these hopes, within six months. He had the high gratification of signing a treaty (July the 18th, 1827) with France and Russia, for establishing the Kingdom of Greece; and thereby terminating that barbarian struggle in which our Lord Byron and the Italian Santa Rosa had sacrificed their lives, and to which all the liberals and scholars of Europe had contributed money. A “Lament for Greece” was one of the earliest productions of Mr. Canning’s muse, and he cherished to the last the generous sentiments of his youth. He preserved, however, even towards Greece the neutrality which he had laid down for himself as foreign minister, and steadily refused in his public capacity anything beyond the expression of hearty good-will and humane attempts at pacification, which were at length successful. He could not settle the dispute with the United States about Oregon, which his predecessor had bequeathed to him in a very irritated condition—but he prevented it from becoming a cause of war. The possession of Oregon, including Vancouver’s island and the Columbia river, was left an open question by the treaty of Ghent. It was submitted to a commission—on which Mr. Robinson and Mr. Goulbourn were the British representatives—and they arranged to leave the territory free to the subjects of both nations. The discussions, however, continued, and became very angry; so that Mr. Canning had much difficulty in preserving his policy of patience and amicable intercourse.

We may mention here, to conclude our review of Mr. Canning's foreign policy, and to show the greatly ameliorated spirit of the Government since he had become its virtual chief, that at the renewal of the Alien Act in 1824 and '26, the Home Secretary (Mr. Peel) voluntarily relinquished the odious power with which it armed him, and narrowed its requirements. It had been customary to renew the Act every other year; which was never done without considerable opposition from the party whose principles and position naturally made them jealous of the Government, and of England's character for unconditional hospitality. The Act required all foreigners, on taking up their residence here, to register their names and other particulars; and it invested Government with the power of deportation at a moment's notice. There were upwards of twenty-five thousand on the register in 1820 and '22; and that very few of them were engaged in definite pursuits, showed that the great majority had but just escaped from continental troubles, and rendered them objects of dislike and apprehension to Ministers, such as Sidmouth and Castlereagh. Those statesmen, however, used gently the authority they refused to surrender. In ten years, less than as many persons were sent away. In 1824, there were twenty-six thousand five hundred in the country; and though some of them had been detected in plots embarrassing to the Government, only one was deported. Mr. Peel then proposed, that in future the necessity for registration should cease with a seven years' residence; and, two years later, he renounced altogether the power of deportation. Both changes gave great satisfaction to the nation and to the unfortunate objects of its protection. If their presence here was a danger and difficulty, from the constant appeal which the sight of their distress and the story of their wrongs made to our passions, and once nearly hurried us into war, it was counteracted by the lesson which it read on the inevitable miseries of physical-force revolution; and it did much to enlarge our knowledge of, and sympathies with, other nations;—as, in later times, the Italian and Hungarian struggles have been amongst the most effective teachers both of peace and fraternity.

It was within the period of the European events which we have now sketched, that the Ashantee and Burmese wars were commenced and terminated. The former was altogether a miserable affair. It was provoked confessedly by the incompetency or bad faith of Sir Charles M'Carthy and his predecessors in the governorship of Cape Coast Castle. It was in January 1824, that actual hostilities with the Ashantee king commenced, and it was not till August of 1826 that they terminated. Between the two periods, the British lost their Governor and several thousand men—the Ashantees many more; and the natives, who cared not much for either, suffered dreadfully from the destruction of their crops and cattle. It is disgusting to find British officials and soldiers in circumstances to admit of such a tale as this:

among the trophies of our success was the golden umbrella of state, and a talisman, under the leopard-skin covering of which was found the head of poor M'Carthy, and which one of the native kings refused to give up.—The Burmese war was very different, both in its causes and results. The oriental pride and ignorance of that brave people, who had subdued the neighbouring states of Pegu and Assam, commenced aggressions which could scarcely be overlooked, and the consequences of which can only be condemned on a much higher theory than has yet been adopted in State affairs. In May 1824, the principal Burmese seaport, Rangoon, was taken, and within two years, after much suffering from sickness, and much slaughter of the Burmese, the great river Irrawaddy was ascended, and the country put at our mercy. A victory over a people who carried with them diviners to battle, and whose "Invulnerables" were stimulated with opium, is not much to the credit of Anglo-Saxons. But the uses of success were not dishonourable. A subsidy was exacted, which did not amount by five-sixths to the cost of the war; the Aracan territory was placed between our territories and those of the humbled "Lord of the White Elephant and Golden Foot;" and the people have doubtless since been better governed than before. It is consolatory to believe that by obliterating the footsteps of war, covering its bloody fields with harvests, and attaching to a just and beneficent sceptre peoples taken by the sword, England's crimes in the East may be expiated, and her empire established.

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## CHAPTER VIII.

THE NEW ERA—FISCAL REDUCTION AND COMMERCIAL EMANCIPATION—THE POLICY OF VANSITTART AND OF HUSKISSON—"PROSPERITY ROBINSON"—WOOL—THE SPITALFIELDS ACT AND THE SILK DUTIES—THE NAVIGATION LAWS—OPERATIVE COMBINATIONS—RESPIRE OF THE PAPER CURRENCY—JOINT-STOCK MANIA—THE CRASH—A "REBELLION OF THE BELLY"—NEW CORN BILL.

THE glorious change in the foreign policy of Great Britain to which the last chapter was devoted, was in itself sufficient to redeem the reign of George the Fourth from the ignoble baseness which the personal character of the monarch, and the politics of his first ministers, would have naturally induced. But the accession to office of Mr. Canning was the advent of a new era in our domestic as well as in our foreign history—the era of commercial and religious emancipation, of fiscal, legislative, and social improvement. Between 1823 and 1830, more than seven millions of taxation were taken off, and that upon an intelligible principle, and with

the best results; a number of absurd and incalculably pernicious laws, affecting commerce and industry, were repealed or modified; the ancient dominance of one religious sect over all others was invaded by the repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts, and the admission of Roman Catholics to Parliament; the mitigation of the criminal code was taken by Government out of the hands of adventurous philanthropy; the education and social elevation of the people were admitted to be in harmony with, if not to constitute, the highest interests of the State; and the great work of Parliamentary reform was considerably advanced. It is true that Mr. Canning was not the prime personal agent in all these mighty and beneficent changes—it is a remarkable instance of intellectual perversity, that to some of them he was inveterately opposed; but to him belongs the high honour, or his was the good fortune, of being instrumental in breaking down the aristocratic monopoly in government, of kindling a spirit of poetry beneath the ribs of politics, of making way for the men who effected, whether in advance or by the pressure of their age, the progressive results we have classified above, and which it will be convenient further to describe rather according to that classification than in the order of their occurrence.

Mr. Huskisson was the hero of commercial emancipation, and Mr. Robinson of fiscal reduction. Both were personal friends of Mr. Canning, and entered the Ministry within a few months of his accession—much to the anger and grief of Lord Eldon—the former as President of the Board of Trade, the latter as Chancellor of the Exchequer; Mr. Vansittart being created Lord Bexley and Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster. Mr. Huskisson was exposed, like his more brilliant friend, to the charge of being low-born and a professional politician. He was the son of a gentleman of Staffordshire, and might have lived as a squire on his small estate; but abandoning the patrimony to his relations, he became, at twenty years of age, secretary to the British ambassador at Paris, and six years later Under-Secretary of State for War and the Colonies. The economical opinions he had formed in his intercourse with men and books we may plainly gather from his measures. But it was impossible to educe from the policy of preceding financiers anything of the kind. Mr. Vansittart had held his office since 1812. Since the peace, he had remitted no less than twenty-one and a half millions of taxation; but, year by year, it was the interest which happened to be strongest that gained relief, the tax most obnoxious to the governing classes that was thrown over. Thus, it will be remembered, in 1816 the income-tax and part of the malt-tax were surrendered; and so, in 1822, another million and a half of the latter was abandoned. Between the two periods, property and assessed taxes had been reduced to the amount of £18,355,889—while excise and customs duties had been reduced more than imposed to the amount only of £3,827,400.

Vansittart's rule appears to have been, to appease the clamorous, whether for imposition or remission; and to make up a deficiency from one source by doubling the demand upon another. The people did not then understand that taxes on articles of consumption are paid chiefly by the consumers; nor the Minister, that the consumption of an article is lessened by increasing the cost of its production. If, therefore, an excise duty which he had doubled failed to yield double its former return, there was nothing for it but to dip into that surplus fund which Mr. Pitt intended for the discharge of the debt, but which Vansittart candidly admitted "was an instrument of great force in the hands of Parliament." The managers of the sinking-fund kept on borrowing to repair the inroads made upon it by the Exchequer; the interest thus increasing while the debt was supposed to have diminished. Great, therefore, was the surprise and anger of the people to learn, in 1822, that the interest of the debt was heavier than in 1817 by £700,000. The stupidity or wickedness of this system could hardly be exceeded by that of the notion, which now became very popular, of expunging the debt from the national account, and leaving the creditors to see for their annuities the parties to whom they had loaned the principal.

The new men had to deal with such a state of things as this, on making up the budget for 1823. The entire revenue was nearly sixty millions—of which, land, windows, and houses paid £4,563,674; Customs and Excise duties, £44,813,555. The latter were maintained for the double purpose of protection and revenue. They comprehended nearly every article of foreign growth or manufacture. Corn, of course, was all but a prohibited import—some descriptions of provision, cattle for instance, were absolutely so—coffee, sugar, spirits, tobacco, so restricted that their consumption was stationary; salt had been partially given up the previous year, after a struggle with the Chancellor, who did not think the payment for it of twenty or twenty-five shillings a year could be missed by the working man, as it was bought in such small quantities. The raw or prepared material of many articles, the finished fabric of others—foreign gloves, silk, wool, cotton, flax, hemp, iron, timber—were prohibited or heavily burdened, for the sake of home and colonial producers. Then, as to imports, wool, printed cottons, hides, glass, candles, were forbidden or restricted. Connected with this was an intricate system of drawbacks and exemptions—such as on timber for building churches—which naturally led to infinite fraud and litigation. A more palpable evil was the existence of smuggling and illicit manufacture to an immense extent—with their consequent cost to the Government of five hundred thousand a-year for the preventive service and coast-blockade, besides stations and revenue cutters; an army of excisemen and Custom-house officers; the evasion of duty and the loss of fair trade. People's eyes were not shut to these anomalies and mischiefs; nor were they slow to

perceive the theoretical beauty of Mr. Huskisson's doctrines—but to their particular application there was the resistance of the special interest affected, and to their general application there was a multiplication of obstacles. Everybody enjoyed protection from everybody else; and while each was more than willing to see his neighbour exposed to wholesome competition, none would consent to be himself subjected to it. Thus the farmers objected to the importation of foreign wool, because it would lower the price of their own; while the cloth manufacturers for that very reason desired the importation of foreign, and objected to the exportation of home-grown wool. The theory was, that the United Kingdom and its colonies were competent to the supply of all that they needed to consume, and constituted a community of mutual producers and consumers—while, in fact, every “interest” regarded every other as its adversary, and desiderated cheapness in all productions but its own. The new Chancellor of the Exchequer perceived that the only method to quiet wild speaking about the debt, and to gain general support in making the special changes which his colleague contemplated, was to continue to reduce taxation, and to select those taxes which pressed upon reproductive industry. He had such real pleasure in his work, and his amiable enthusiasm was so contagious, that he led himself and the House into sad blunders, which procured him from Cobbett the cognomen of “Prosperity Robinson.” At the outset, he managed to reckon a sum of two millions twice over, making a surplus of five millions appear seven. Before the mistake was discovered, he had concluded an arrangement proposed by his predecessors, for the conversion of pensions and half-pay allowances, to the annual amount of five millions, of course diminishing every year, into forty-five years’ annuities of £2,800,000; a portion of which the Bank of England bought at nine millions and a half, relieving the tax-payers of that and the next few years, at the expense of their successors. A number of small but very annoying taxes, amounting to £70,000, he took off; reduced the window-tax and some domestic duties fifty per cent., and relieved Ireland altogether of assessed taxes. It was in the next year that he fairly commenced the new system; and, not to weary ourselves with watching the process, or specifying its particulars, we may say that, in round numbers, of the seven millions and a half remitted from 1824 to 1829, less than one million consisted of direct or assessed taxes; upwards of six millions were taken from the Customs and Excise duties. We shall now see how Mr. Huskisson effected the corresponding legal and commercial changes.

He began with wool. This ancient staple of English agriculture and commerce is of limited use in manufacture, unless worked up with foreign wool. Its exportation was forbidden, but it was altogether free from duty until 1813, when an import-duty of less than a penny a pound was imposed,



which Mr. Vansittart, in the extremest exaggeration of his method, raised at once to sixpence. The natural effect was seen, within a year or two, in the diminution, by one-fourth, of the amount of woollen manufactures exported; and in 1823 there were numerous petitions from the manufacturers for the repeal of this duty—a demand which Mr. Huskisson met with an offer of compliance, if the petitioners would consent to the free exportation of home-grown wool. That they would by no means do. The next year, therefore, Mr. Huskisson took the matter into his own hands, and carried a bill allowing wool to be either exported or imported on a payment of one penny per lb. of one shilling value. Three years later, he could boast that while our wool-growers had exported only 100,000 lbs., our manufacturers had imported no less than 40,000,000 lbs.—Silk was next subjected to the new system. Soon after the establishment of the manufacture at Spitalfields by the French refugees, laws were passed shutting out from England all foreign silks, the trade in which was previously free; and heavy duties were imposed upon the prepared material. But the manufacture gradually dwindled instead of increasing, and to such a degree, that in 1793, four thousand looms, and more than twice as many hands, that had been employed seven years before, were idle. When the manufacture revived, it was only because the East India Company had introduced into their dominions the Italian method of “throwing,” and could furnish sufficient of the material to mitigate the restrictions imposed upon Italian silk. But the Legislature had not been content with protecting the descendants of the Huguenots from the throwsters of Italy and the weavers of Lyons—they had also authorized the Middlesex magistrates to regulate the wages of the work-people, and forbidden the masters to remove their establishments beyond that control. The manufacturers of Spitalfields were thus exposed to unequal competition with those of Macclesfield and Paisley, and petitioned earnestly for the abolition of this kind of superintendence. Mr. Huskisson could not but assent to so reasonable a demand, and introduced a bill for the purpose; but such was the “dismay and alarm” of the journeymen weavers—from whom Mr. Fowell Buxton presented a petition signed by eleven thousand—that the second and third readings of the bill were carried by majorities of only eight and thirteen. The Lords introduced amendments which would have had the effect of continuing the magisterial authority over wages, but permitted the manufacturers to invest their capital where they pleased. Both parties in the Commons disowned the bill when thus vitiated; and it was dropped. But next year it was re-introduced, and as the eleven thousand petitioners were then in full work, they were as careless as they had before been alarmed; and the bill for repealing the Spitalfields Act passed with only a feeble opposition in the Lords. Not so when it was proposed to repeal or relax the restrictions on

raw, prepared, or manufactured foreign silk. The manufacturers urgently desired a freer importation of the raw material, but were generally as averse to any considerable reduction on "organzine," the prepared material, and clamoured against the removal of the prohibition on the fabric. Mr. Buxton was this time the speaker for twenty-three thousand journeymen, who crowded the precincts of the Houses, whilst their employers filled the galleries. The financial Ministers at length effected the following arrangements:—The duties on raw silk were reduced to 3d. from 4s. on the pound for Indian, and 5s. 7½d. on other sorts; the duties on brown silk were reduced from 14s. 8d. to 7s. 6d. per lb.; and foreign wrought silks were to be admitted from July, 1826, at a duty of 30 per cent. upon their value. The delay in the removal of the prohibition was a concession to the fears and entreaties of the manufacturers and workmen, who talked only of getting out of the trade before the two years expired. Before that time, however, they had proved the soundness of the Ministers' calculations. The manufacture steadily advanced, till within five or six years it had doubled in extent, and in ten years we were actually exporting silk goods to France to the value of £60,000 in the year. When in 1826 a cry of distress was heard from Coventry, the cause of that distress was so obviously local, that the House refused by 222 to 40 to grant a committee of inquiry.

Commerce and labour shared in this new policy with manufacturing industry. The change effected in the Navigation Laws was the most important and significant of all that now took place. It will be remembered that the government of the United States retaliated, during the period of the Berlin decrees, on the regulation that prevented all but British ships entering British harbours with a cargo. At the restoration of peace, both governments agreed to a mutual repeal of these ridiculous restrictions. But other nations—Portugal, the Netherlands, and Prussia—followed the successful example of America, or threatened to do so. In 1822, Mr. Wallace, the then President of the Board of Trade, introduced, and by the force of these circumstances carried, five bills, making terms with those nations. The results of the relaxation were such as to supply Mr. Huskisson with an argument from present experience as well as right reason, when, in June of the next year, he proposed his famous Reciprocity of Duties Bill; which equalized duties and drawbacks on the merchandise carried by the ships of all nations, provided their governments would reciprocate these terms. Loud was the outcry of the shipowners. Mr. Huskisson replied to, if he did not silence, their complaint, that British vessels were built under a pressure of duties which foreign shipbuilders did not bear, by offering them a drawback equal to all the duties they had paid in construction; which they declined, lest it should give a stimulus to the trade. His rea-

sonings, or, more probably, the necessities of the case, were so strong, that the bill passed through the lower House by majorities of five to one; but that all were not blind to the significance of the event may be judged from a sentence in the speech of Mr. Stuart Wortley (now Lord Wharncliffe)—“he thought the principles which now began to work in regard to commercial regulations, must, ere long, be applied to agriculture.”

The adjustment of the relation of the employers and the employed had long been a sore necessity—it had now met with men able and willing to attempt it. The opening of the year 1824 displayed unwonted signs of prosperity. Wheat was dear enough to satisfy its growers, but nearly every class of the people was sufficiently well employed to pay the price. But in the thickest hives of industry there was revolt and bitter war. Six thousand of the operatives about Macclesfield had risen on a question of time and wages, and a body of four hundred of them had a serious conflict with the military. In many places there were cases of intimidation, and even of alleged murder. A committee of the House of Commons, with Mr. Hume for its chairman, sat and reported upon the law relating to artizans and machinery. Strangely as it reads now, the exportation of machinery and the emigration of artizans were alike forbidden. The committee reported that the folly of the law in regard to workmen was equal to its injustice—that it was as impossible as unfair to prevent them carrying their labour to the best market. They, therefore, recommended the abolition of all such laws, which was carried into effect without opposition. Another point of the inquiry involved more serious considerations—namely, the laws relative to combinations of workmen. Not only did the common law treat as conspiracy mutual arrangements for wages, but some thirty or forty Acts of Parliament, passed on occasion of particular outbreaks, or for the regulation of particular trades, had taken from workmen all opportunity of legally combining for their own protection, while the masters were virtually free from restraint. The committee reported in this spirit, and recommended that the two parties should be left perfectly at liberty to consult their separate interests by mutual consultation. In a fit of very unusual trustfulness towards the people, Parliament repealed the acts alluded to, and modified the common law. Unhappily, their generosity outran the requirements of safety. The working-classes had been for some time under the domination of a few who abused their ignorant but honest prejudices and many wrongs to the gratification of their own love of idleness and mastery, their hatred as much of steady work as of the envied wealthy. At the instigation of these social demagogues, so soon as Parliament had risen, organizations were formed throughout the manufacturing districts, strikes were commenced, and continued for months, the peaceful now more than ever ill-used by the turbulent, the resources of both capitalist and

labourer consumed, and the minds of both exasperated. Early in the session of '25, Mr. Huskisson therefore moved for a committee to reconsider the subject—the proceedings of the previous year were admitted on all hands to have been too hasty—and the now existing law was enacted, which permits combinations amongst either masters or men, but not the violation of contracts, nor the use of intimidation; a law with which, we believe, working-men are well contented, however they may object to its occasional interpretation and appliance.

The new policy was exposed to a severe shock, almost at its initiation. In the session of '22, upon the bitter complaints of the landlords that the rental of their properties and the price of their produce, in common with that of all articles, were greatly reduced by the narrowing of the currency, and the prospect of a return at last to cash payments, which were embodied in a motion by Mr. Western, a bill was quietly passed to permit the circulation of one and two pound notes, which were to have been extinguished that year, for eleven years longer! It was naturally felt that this was a virtual revocation of the bill of 1819—that so long a respite was an entire reprieve. The Bank of England declined to avail itself of the permission, and called in all its notes for less than five pounds—but the country bankers, instead of restricting their already too extended issues, indefinitely enlarged them. A general rise of prices was of course the consequence of this deluge of paper money. Within two years, it was calculated, the quantity of notes in circulation was increased from forty to fifty per cent. To the substantial wealth fast accumulating in the hands of the middle-classes, from the reduction of taxation and the healthy activity of commerce, there was thus added the delusive and feverish flush of a fictitious prosperity. Money was superabundant, and the rate of interest "miserably low." New channels of investment were inquired for by capitalists of all grades, from the Lombard-street banker to the tradesman's widow. The recognition of South American independence, the comparatively new-born powers of gas and steam, the appetite for domestic comforts and refinements that had succeeded to the boisterous passions of the war, offered boundless fields for the distribution of the golden seed, and at the same time appealed to better propensities than that of acquisitiveness. Simultaneously with the opportunity there appeared—and, as it widened, multiplied—a class that is the curse of modern civilization; the unscrupulous, crafty lawyers, the needy and unprincipled writers, the stock-jobbers and other commercial gamblers, who make a market of the necessities and impulses of mankind. The omnipotent principle of association, that had begun steadily to uplift society, was seized upon, and made the instrument of measureless demoralization, to be followed by yet wider desolation. Joint-stock companies sprang up with mushroom rapidity, quickly to

develop the bitterness of the poisonous counterfeit. From statements drawn up just after the time of which we write, it appears that for the one hundred and fifty-six joint-stock companies of 1823, there were five hundred and thirty-two in 1825, with a nominal capital of £441,649,600; and in the same period, foreign loans were subscribed to the amount of eighteen millions. The professed objects of these associations were strangely various—of many, ludicrously absurd. There were companies for mining in the Corderillas, and for milking the wild herds of the Pampas—for cutting through the Isthmus of Panama, and for interlacing England with canals—for lighting the obscurest villages with gas, for baking and washing by steam, and for supplying every breakfast-table with eggs hatched and butter churned by the same ubiquitous power. It was in vain that a sober few exposed the audacious emptiness of many of these schemes, the impossible pretensions of others, the enormous inflation of resources involved in the aggregate of even the honest and probable—in vain that the history of former manias was republished as a warning and a satire—remonstrance and ridicule were alike lost upon a nation maddened by a sudden lust of riches and a delirious dream of romance. But the hour of awakening could not be delayed, nor its bitterness mitigated. In July the king closed the session of 1825 with congratulations on “the general and increasing prosperity,” but his ministers could scarcely be blind to some ill omens. The funds had been declining for some months—goods were coming home by shiploads from gorged markets and unpeopled shores—no gold was yielded by the Mexican mines in which millions of silver had been sunk—the banks in town and country began to close their hands, and every dealer found a difficulty in getting either accommodation or cash. The anxiety that had long been felt changed to alarm, and alarm soon became a panic. One commercial house stopped, and then two or three every day. Next the country banks began to close, every stoppage stimulating a “run,” which soon reached to London. Not till the 5th of December did a Lombard-street house give way—but it was the famous one of Sir Peter Pole and Company; and was immediately followed by that of Williams. Within five or six weeks, sixty or seventy had stopped—the Bank of England was only saved, according to the confession of one of its directors, by the re-issue of one pound notes, a box of which was luckily discovered. The Cabinet set the Mint to work to coin sovereigns to supply the place of the four millions of notes which were as so much exploded gunpowder; and even ventured to stop the stamping of notes altogether. At the meeting of Parliament (in February) the urgency of the crisis was pleaded as a justification of this acknowledged stretch of Ministerial prerogative; and, supported by the City, the indemnity asked for was accorded by a majority of 222 to 39. At the same time, the stamping of

notes was to be resumed for a limited period, the Bank of England was induced to establish provincial branches, and the basis of country banks was enlarged by permission to include any number of partners. In consequence of a vigorous opposition in Scotland—headed by Sir Walter Scott (himself ruined in the crash) in the character of “Malachi Malagrowther”—the banking system of that country, which had well withstood the ordeal, was allowed to remain unaltered. By the end of February, the crisis had passed, but there was still much suffering to be endured. Not only were thousands of families stripped of their moderate possessions, and many of larger means utterly ruined, but every one was crippled—those who had stood aloof from the race were maimed if not trampled in the retreat—business was at a stand-still, and the habitually poor were deep in distress at the hardest season of the year. There was, perhaps, more of virtue and generosity displayed than might have been expected. If the mercantile classes generally were angry with the Government for their refusal to force a revival of credit by an issue of Exchequer Bills, they responded to their appeal to sustain confidence in their own remaining resources. The Bank was authorized to make advances to the amount of three millions. Presently, the wheels of commerce moved again, and began slowly to drag the nation from the slough into which it had fallen in pursuit of the fantasy of miraculous wealth.

But the poor are ever the first to feel, and the last to be relieved from, the pressure of general calamity. So early in the reaction as August there were quarrels between the shipowners and seamen of Sunderland, which were not quelled till five persons had been shot. In November there was a successful rebellion of the cotters of the Isle of Man against the collection of tithe on their potatoes. In the spring of the next year, in Lancashire and Yorkshire there was a formidable rising, stimulated by severe distress, but unhappily directed against power-looms; a thousand of which were destroyed in one week in and around Blackburn—not one left standing. The silk-weavers of London and Dublin, of Norwich and Carlisle, were without work, or refused it at such wages as the impoverished manufacturers could give; and sought relief by methods varying in the degree of their unfortunate ineptitude. Even the sluggish peasantry of Somersetshire were goaded by lack of food to attack the provision-sellers of Trowbridge. As the summer advanced, drought was found to prevail. It had been resolved to dissolve Parliament, though this was only its sixth session; and Ministers—though they had obtained a majority of 101 against a motion by Mr. Hume for a committee of inquiry into the existing distress—were unwilling to be left without authority to mitigate the dearth that was evidently impending, while there were large stores of foreign corn in the ports. They carried with some difficulty two bills—one releasing 300,000

quarters already in bond; and the other authorizing the admission of 500,000 quarters if it should be necessary to do so—the agriculturist party insisting on saddling Government with the responsibility of determining the necessity. That responsibility they were reluctantly compelled to assume. The drought increased to a remarkable degree; and as accounts from the north of Europe foretold a scarcity, the final price at which corn was excluded from our shores was passed before the harvest was over; but as six weeks must elapse before the average would be struck in the regular manner, an Order in Council at once admitted those kinds of grain which were most needed. The wheat crop, after all, was not deficient; but it was felt that the subject of the corn-laws must be once more reconsidered, and during the recess, Lord Liverpool and Mr. Huskisson elaborated a measure which it eventually fell to Mr. Canning's lot to introduce [in May, 1827]. The bill provided that foreign corn should be imported and warehoused duty free; and released on the payment of a certain scale of duties—wheat at 1s. duty when it was 70s. a quarter, the duty increasing 2s. with every 1s. of decrease in price. It passed the Commons by majorities of about three to one. In the Lords, it was destroyed through a singular misunderstanding among Ministers—one of themselves (the Duke of Wellington) proposing and carrying an amendment fatal to the principle of the bill, in the opinion of its authors. The next year it was revived, with some modifications, by a Cabinet of which the Duke was chief, and carried without trouble. It was reserved for a member of both Ministries, fourteen years later, to effect a radical alteration in the laws so jealously guarded by the strongest parties in the Legislature—and, a few years later still, to decree their entire extinction. When the famished weavers of Bethnal Green and Carlisle clamoured in 1826 for corn-law repeal, they were answered by military and assize commissions, under the administration of the very man on whose monument is the record, that he enabled industry to eat its bread unleavened by the bitterness of taxation.

## CHAPTER IX.

THE THREE ERAS OF THE CATHOLIC QUESTION—THE LAST STAGE REACHED—MR. CANNING'S BILL FOR THE ADMISSION OF CATHOLIC PEERS TO PARLIAMENT—SCENE WITH MR. BROUGHAM—THE CATHOLIC ASSOCIATION—AN ACT PASSED FOR ITS SUPPRESSION—MR. CANNING, MR. PEEL, AND THE UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD—SIR F. BURDETT'S CATHOLIC RELIEF BILL—THE DUKE OF YORK'S DECLARATION—GENERAL ELECTION—THE DUKE OF YORK'S DEATH—CANNING'S PREMIERSHIP AND DEATH—THE GODERICH CABINET—THE DUKE OF WELLINGTON PRIME MINISTER—REPEAL OF TEST AND CORPORATION ACTS—THE CLARE ELECTION—THE ORANGE CLUBS AND THE CATHOLIC ASSOCIATION—SIGNS OF YIELDING—MR. PEEL RESIGNS THE REPRESENTATION OF OXFORD—THE CATHOLIC RELIEF BILL—THE KING'S RELUCTANT ASSENT—MR. O'CONNELL'S RE-ELECTION FOR CLARE.

THE death of Henry Grattan completed, as his public life had constituted, a second era in the history of the Catholic question. The first period extended from the violation, by King William the Third, of the treaty of Limerick—which assured to the Catholics of Ireland the secure enjoyment of their religion—to the assertion of independence in 1780; the period of the execrable penal laws. The second period was that of degradation and disabilities, peacefully because hopefully endured—endured, during the latter half of the term, on the understanding that only the life of an aged monarch stood between four millions of his subjects and their civil rights. At the commencement of the third period, the Catholics of Ireland were fully four to one to the Protestants. Their grievances consisted in exclusion from Parliament, from posts of distinction and trust, from municipal offices, virtually from the public service, and even from the jury-box; besides which, no Catholic could be guardian to a Protestant, and no Catholic priest could be a guardian at all; they were allowed to have arms only under certain restrictions, and not at all to keep arms for sale or as a matter of trade. In 1808, as we have seen, they stirred from their position of passive, waiting hope, rejected Mr. Grattan's proposition to allow the Government a veto on the appointment of their bishops, and commenced an agitation which the law officers of the Crown could not and Parliament would not interfere to put down. With the premiership of Lord Liverpool, theirs became a ~~new~~ <sup>open</sup> question. Repeatedly, it will be remembered, the lower House, led by ~~Canning~~ <sup>Brougham</sup> and Canning, had affirmed the justice of their claims. Now that George the Third ~~was~~ <sup>was</sup> the Marquis of Wellesley at the Castle, and Mr. Canning in the Cabinet, ~~the~~ <sup>should</sup> they suffer or brook delay?

The great statesman devoted to their service what ~~he~~ <sup>he</sup> could. On the 30th of April, 1822, he ~~made~~ <sup>made</sup> for his last Parliamentary speech.



to bring in a bill to admit Catholic peers to the House of Lords. He was probably induced to make that his specific effort, by the circumstance that the Catholic peers had been conspicuous in the recent ceremonial of the coronation—at all events, he made splendid oratorical use of the fact:—“Did it occur to the representatives of Europe, when contemplating this animating spectacle—did it occur to the ambassadors of Catholic Austria, of Catholic France, or of states more bigoted in matters of religion, that the moment this ceremony was over the Duke of Norfolk would become disseised of the exercise of his privileges among his fellow-peers?—that his robes of ceremony were to be laid aside and hung up until the distant (be it a very distant!) day when the coronation of a successor to his present most gracious sovereign might again call him forth to assist at a similar solemnization?—that, after being thus exhibited to the eyes of the peers and people of England, and to the representatives of the princes and nations of the world, the Duke of Norfolk—highest in rank among the peers—the Lord Clifford, and others like him, representing a long line of illustrious ancestry, as if called forth and furnished for the occasion, like the lustres and banners that flamed and glittered in the scene, were to be, like them, thrown by as useless and trumpery formalities?—that they might bend the knee and kiss the hand; that they might bear the train or rear the canopy; might discharge the offices assigned by Roman pride to their barbarian ancestors—

‘*Purpurea tollant aulæ Britanni;*’

but that with the pageantry of the hour, their importance faded away; that as their distinction vanished, their humiliation returned; and that he who headed the procession of peers to-day, could not sit among them as their equal on the morrow!” The bill thus strikingly recommended was strongly opposed by Mr. Peel, passed the Commons by but small majorities, and was thrown over in the Lords by a majority of 42.

In the next session (1823), instead of presiding at the council board in Calcutta, Mr. Canning was seated on the treasury bench of the Commons. His being there was interpreted—such was the deplorable want of mutual confidence among public men—into an abandonment of the Catholic cause. On the night of the 17th April a discussion arose on the presentation of a pro-Catholic petition from some clergymen of the diocese of Norwich (whose bishop was the first of the episcopal bench to take that side). In this debate, Sir F. Burdett, Mr. Teirney, Mr. Grey Bennett, and Mr. Brougham, successively attacked Mr. Canning for his supposed tergiversation—the last-mentioned with such characteristic vehemence of invective as might have been unbearable to a less sensitive spirit than that of the genius as well as the politician. At length he rose, and with terrible calmness gave Mr. Brougham ‘the lie!’ Mr. Speaker was the first to break the dead silence that ensued

by calling upon the Right Hon. Secretary to retract—which he refused to do ; as did also Mr. Brougham. The Opposition did at last what they should have done at first. Mr. Canning had before explained that he had taken office in a mixed ministry, because he believed that an absolutely agreed ministry was not necessary to carry the Catholic relief—and now his word was accepted.—In the session of 1824 the Catholic Duke of Norfolk was enabled to exercise his office of Earl Marshal by a bill exempting him in that capacity from the oath of supremacy. Nothing more was done in Parliament that year, but much in the country. The Catholic Association had begun to hold its public meetings, at which O'Connell and Shiel mingled fiery invectives against Protestant ascendancy, with stern denunciations of those agrarian conspiracies which had kept the country for some years in a frightful state of alarm. It was the most formidable feature of this organization, not that it levied a regular taxation upon the population it had numbered and parcelled out, but that it delivered the country from lawlessness. It is an intolerable thing for a government to find its primary functions superseded—but it was so now. It was in vain that the bigot Viceroy, Talbot, and his yet more bigoted Attorney-General, Saurin, tried to quiet the disturbed districts of the country by suspending the Habeas Corpus, proclaiming martial law, scouring mountain and morass with soldiery—bands of White-boys and other outlaws besieged the fortified mansions of the gentry, pillaged obnoxious farmers, fought pitched battles, or executed sentence of death upon the proscribed. It was equally in vain that Wellesley and Plunket combined conciliation with firmness, suppressed Orange processions, impartially administered the laws, and did their best to mitigate the distress occasioned by potato-rot. The Association had only to adjure the people by the “hate they bore the Orangemen, their natural enemies,” to abstain from all secret and illegal societies, from all White-boy and similar outrages,—and, lo ! Ireland was pacified. It was felt by even the pro-Catholic portion of the Cabinet that this could not be endured. The royal speech on opening the session of 1825 was therefore made to express regret “that associations should exist in Ireland which have adopted proceedings irreconcilable with the spirit of the constitution, and calculated, by exciting alarm and by exasperating animosities, to endanger the peace of society, and to retard the course of national improvement.” The Association sent over a deputation—the chief of whom, O'Connell, had just defeated the Government in a prosecution for sedition—to watch its interests : and, through Mr. Brougham, they asked to be heard at the bar of the House. But the House would not recognise the Association. It was pretended that the speech included Orange clubs in its condemnation of political societies ; and the bill introduced by Mr. Goulburn, as Irish Secretary, had for a general object “to amend the Acts relating to un-

lawful societies in Ireland." The first reading of the bill was carried by 278 to 123, and within a month it became law. It forbade political societies to continue their sittings, even by adjournment, for more than fourteen days, to levy contributions, to have different branches, to hold mutual correspondence, to make religion a qualification of membership, or to administer oaths or declarations. O'Connell, pursuing his policy of strict adherence to the letter of the law, instantly dissolved the Association; but no sooner had Parliament risen, than a new mode of action was at work, and a central committee was directing the movements of the whole Catholic body without visible connexion with any part of it. The Government had destroyed the Association, but greatly advanced its object—as Mr. Canning had intended—by fixing upon it the gaze of the general public, who had hitherto left the matter chiefly to the religious bodies. The speech delivered by Mr. Canning in the course of the debate was itself of infinite service to the cause. He gave the House and the listening nation, in his magnificent style, a history of the question, and of his own connexion with it. One passage, in reply to the charge of lukewarmness and selfish tampering, had a great effect at the time, and was soon to receive a striking illustration:—"I have shown that in the year 1812, I refused office rather than enter into an administration pledged against the Catholic question. I did this at a time when office would have been dearer to me than at any other period of my political life—when I would have given ten years of life for two years of office, not for any sordid or selfish purpose of aggrandisement, but for other and higher views. But is this the only sacrifice I have made to the Catholic cause? From the earliest dawn of my public life—ay, from the first visions of youthful ambition—that ambition has been directed to one object above all others. Before that object all others vanished into comparative insignificance: it was desirable to me beyond all the blandishments of power, beyond all the rewards and favours of the Crown. That object was, to represent in this House the University in which I was educated. I had a fair chance of accomplishing this object when the Catholic question crossed my way. I was warned, fairly and kindly warned, that my adoption of that cause would blast my prospects: I adhered to the Catholic cause, and forfeited all my long-cherished hopes and expectations. And yet I am told that I have made no sacrifice! that I have postponed the cause of the Catholics to views and interests of my own! The representation of the University has fallen into worthier hands. I rejoice, with my honourable friend near me (Mr. Peel) in the high honour which he has obtained; long may he enjoy the distinction; and long may it prove a source of reciprocal pride to our parent University and to himself! Never till this hour have I stated, either in public or private, the extent of this irretrievable sacrifice; but I have felt it not the less deeply. It is past, and

I shall speak of it no more." The right honourable friend sitting near him could scarcely have heard these affecting words without a prophetic twinge. We know now that *he* had gone to Lord Liverpool about this time desiring to resign his office; so convinced was he that "something ought to be done about the Catholics," but not yet feeling that he was the man to do it. He knew not the greatness of his destiny.

Another service was done to the Catholic cause before the Houses were prorogued. Sir Francis Burdett introduced, immediately after the passing of the bill suppressing the Catholic Association, a set of resolutions, which, being carried, he made the foundation of a Catholic Relief Bill, including three objects—the repeal of Catholic disabilities, a state provision for the Catholic clergy, and the raising of the Irish electoral qualification from 40s. to £10. The second provision was obviously intended to appease the very reasonable fears of English politicians, that if the priests were to be left to poverty and independence, Irish members would be little better than their nominees—the third was prompted by the complaint that the Protestant voters were completely swamped by the Catholic freeholders. Mr. O'Connell had boasted that he had drawn up the bill, which was emphatically denied by the parties in charge of it. Still more damaging than this first public impeachment of his veracity, was the effect of this avowal of authorship upon his own followers—by whom the forty-shilling franchise was justly regarded as too precious to be given up for the right to return Catholic members. So loud and general was the outcry, that the agitator saw his mistake, and hastened to recant—which he did, with professions of sorrow, appeals to his God and country for pardon, devotion of his soul to perdition if he again so sinned, that seemed at the time very solemn, but came to be regarded rather as awful, when such adjurations were seen to be a part of the machinery of his power. The second provision of the bill—for taking the priesthood into the pay of the Government—greatly excited many in England who were well disposed to the main object of the measure; and stimulated the frantic zeal of the Protestant Ascendency party. The bill, however, passed the Commons, after long and highly animated debates, by 268 to 241. Its appearance in the House of Lords was anticipated by an extraordinary declaration from the Duke of York, the heir presumptive to the throne. Speaking on a petition, he took occasion to attribute "the severe illness and ten years of misery which had clouded the existence of his illustrious and beloved father," to the struggle of his conscience between the obligations of his coronation oath and the claims of this question; and he ventured further to say for himself, that "these were the principles to which he would adhere, and which he would maintain and act up to, to the latest moment of his existence, whatever might be his situation of life—so help him God!" Of

course, the declaration was seized upon, as was probably intended, by the Protestant party, as an appeal from the Throne itself against a treasonable conspiracy that reached even to the councils of the unhappy sovereign—that now afflicted the sons as it had done the father. The Duke's words were gilded and framed for parlour walls and scrawled in rude characters on way-side fences, repeated from pulpits and dwelt upon by the anti-Catholic press. The other side were stimulated to greater exertions. They, too, had just been furnished with that great necessity in a political agitation—a good phrase. In the late debate Mr. Plunket had said, in reply to the charge of innovation:—"Time was the greatest innovator of all; while man would sleep or stop in his career, the course of time was rapidly changing the aspect of all human affairs. All that a wise government could do was, to keep as close as possible to the wings of time, to watch his progress, and accommodate his motion to their flight. Arrest his course they could not; but they might vary the forms and aspect of their institutions so as to reflect its varying aspects and forms. If this were not the spirit which animated them, philosophy would be impertinent, and *history no better than an old almanack.*" The Lords flung out the bill by 178 to 130—greatly to the exultation of one party, but not to the dismay of the other.

The next session (that of 1826) being the last of this Parliament, was brief, and chiefly occupied with the business already related. Nothing was done in this question in either House beyond irregular discussions on petitions, which were chiefly affirmations on the one side and denials on the other of the danger to be apprehended from the divided allegiance of Roman Catholics between the Pope and the King of England. The elections turned chiefly upon this question, and the anti-Catholic party rather gained than lost—partly, it seems, because all but those among the Dissenters whose sense of right was stronger than their fears, held back from the Catholic cause. Lord Howick (Mr. Grey) failed in Northumberland, Mr. Brougham in Westmoreland, and even Lord John Russell, with the Bedford interest and his Reform reputation, lost Huntingdonshire. But in Ireland, the Protestant landlords and the Catholic priests pitted their influence against each other with unscrupulous rigour, and the terrors of the altar were found more powerful than those of the bailiff. The landlords had cut up their estates into forty-shilling holdings, nominally freehold, and thought again to command votes by the prospect of eviction for disobedience. But now the priests confronted them with influences stronger even than the fear of poverty, and the Association promised relief to the victims. The result was astounding—even the Beresfords were deprived of the representation of their own county of Waterford. In the autumn, the Duke of York resolved to supplement his last achievement, by a procedure still more extraordinary—he

ventured to urge his brother, the King, to get rid of Mr. Canning. The indolent sovereign is reported to have passed off with a jest his former escapade—'York need not trouble himself about what *he* would do on the throne, for it would not be vacant just yet'—and he seems to have taken this second liberty with the same lazy good humour. But presently the Duke fell sick, and on the 5th of January (1827) he died. At his torchlight funeral in the royal chapel at Windsor, Lord Chancellor Eldon, we are told by his biographer, standing over the grave in which he declared the hopes of his country and his Church were buried, recollected that he might take cold, and therefore laid down his hat to stand upon. There were standing beside him, with very different feelings, no doubt—not less sad and solemn, perhaps, but loftier and unselfish—the brothers in age and adventure, Canning and Huskisson. They took no such precaution against the vault-damps and night air, but went home to sicken. It was a fortnight later (February 5th) when Parliament reassembled, and the colleagues were then ill a-bed, Canning at Brighton and Huskisson in London. Both were suddenly smitten with a heavier stroke—the intelligence that their chief, Lord Liverpool, had been found in his study on Friday morning (February 16th) in an apoplectic fit, which he could scarcely survive, and from which he could not recover. To Canning the blow was the heavier, because Liverpool and he, born in the same year, and school-fellows, had been firm friends through life. When he reappeared in the House, it was with the deep traces of grief, anxiety, and sickness upon his face, to encounter a relentless opposition, and to discharge the uncongenial task of carrying the new Corn-bill, Mr. Huskisson being still a prisoner to his room.

On the 15th of March the Catholic question was raised for the first time in the new Parliament—and with an adverse result. The motion was simply to the effect, "that this House is deeply impressed with the expediency of taking into consideration the laws imposing civil disabilities on his Majesty's Catholic subjects." Mr. Canning could scarcely have dwelt more impressively on the then state of Ireland, and the consequences that were probable if the Commons were proved to have fallen back upon the subject, if he had known that that was to be his last appeal. But the decision was against him by a majority of four—showing that the Commons really had gone back. During the Easter recess, the necessary changes in the Cabinet were made. As Lord Liverpool remained in a state which rendered him unable even to send in his resignation, on the 27th of March the King summoned Mr. Canning, as the second man in the Cabinet. The interview disclosed this state of things—that while a wholly anti-Catholic ministry was quite practicable, in Mr. Canning's opinion, in either a mixed or a pro-Catholic Cabinet he must be the Premier. Mr. Peel had told him, frankly and without ill-will, that in the latter case he must secede; but at

the same time, Mr. Peel was telling him and the King, that he would be no party to an anti-Catholic ministry. The King and Mr. Peel were clearly of opinion, as Lord Liverpool had been, that resistance was no longer possible—but they shrunk from making the change. Still Mr. Canning might not have been Premier but for the corrupt proceedings of his personal enemies. A representation was made to the King by a ducal privy councillor, in the name of eight other peers, that if Mr. Canning were placed at the head of the new Government, they would withdraw from it all their influence in both Houses. The King's perplexity gave way at last before a royal pride, and he instantly conferred on the persecuted statesman the office of First Lord of the Treasury. The next day Mr. Canning returned to the King with a bundle of resignations. The Duke of Wellington (who had succeeded the Duke of York as Commander-in-chief, in addition to being Master of the Ordnance) and Mr. Peel, Lords Eldon, Bexley, Bathurst, Westmoreland, and Melville, Mr. Wallace (the Master of the Mint), Sir Charles Wetherell (the Attorney-General), and Mr. Beckett (the Judge-Advocate), and even four officers of the royal household, all declined to serve under Mr. Canning. But the new Premier was not dismayed—for what would not ambition attempt? wrote the spiteful old Chancellor, half incredulous that he had really been displaced from the seat he had occupied nearly a quarter of a century. But before the House re-assembled every post was filled up. Lord Bexley was induced to resume his place, the Duke of Clarence went to the head of the Admiralty, Sir John Copley was created Lord-Chancellor Lyndhurst, Lord Anglesey took the Ordnance Office, Lord Dudley the Foreign, and Mr. Sturges Bourne the Home Secretaryship. Mr. Robinson was elevated to the peerage by the title of Lord Goderich, Mr. Canning himself taking the Chancellorship of the Exchequer as well as the Premiership. Curious was the aspect of the House of Commons on the night of the 1st of May—Tierney and Brougham, Sir Francis Burdett and Sir Robert Wilson, ranged for the first time behind the Treasury bench; and people as curious to see Mr. Canning, says a spectator, "as if a change of his person must have accompanied his change of place." In the explanations that ensued, Mr. Peel was the only one of the seceders whom Mr. Canning distinctly acquitted of unhandsome desertion, and Mr. Peel showed that the course he had taken was alike due to himself and friendly towards his late colleague. We have the word of Lord Eldon for it, that never had personalities and political enmities risen so high as at this time. The Whig-Radicals in the lower House showed the sincerity of their coalition by withdrawing for the session (which terminated in two months) the only two questions on which they differed from the head of the Ministry; but the records of the incidental discussions show that no opportunity was lost of bitterly attacking Mr.

Canning and his new allies. Only one of these hostile speeches survives—it would be well for the reputation of its author if it could be forgotten. It was pronounced by Lord Grey in the upper House (in which he had sat, on the cold benches of the Opposition, for twenty years), and was therefore unanswerable by the object of the invective. That speech seems now uncharitable even to malignity, and the more bitter from its calmness—one of the most melancholy instances on record of the power of party spirit in blinding great men to the merits of each other—if, indeed, it do not prove that Lord Grey could not have been noble by nature, wanting generous sympathy with intellect in arms against power. The almost universal impression was, however, that this was the strongest Administration since that of Pitt's, and that Canning would achieve, in the next session, the great work which the patron of his youth had failed in accomplishing. Such a public sentiment concerning a man may carry him through anything but the agonies of death—but to them, alas! Canning was to succumb, as his early friends Pitt and Fox had done, just when life seemed dearest. For two or three weeks after the rising of Parliament he was detained in town by official business. Then he went to the Duke of Devonshire's seat at Chiswick, as Fox had done under such similar circumstances, and inhabited the same apartments. On the 8th of August, after a week of severe suffering from internal inflammation, he died.

We cannot pause now to estimate the character of this noble victim of death, nor to describe the effect of the catastrophe upon the public: we must pursue its political consequences.—Lord Goderich took the vacated Premiership; Mr. Huskisson was recalled from Southern Europe (where he had been overtaken by the news of his friend's death) to take the Colonial Office. The Duke of Wellington justified himself on his characteristic plea—the sake of the public service—for resuming the command of the army. The Chancellorship of the Exchequer was given, after several likelier men had refused it, to Mr. Herries. The Cabinet thus patched up scarcely lasted through the recess. In preparing for the session, an unfortunate misunderstanding arose between Mr. Huskisson and Mr. Herries; which Lord Goderich found himself unable to clear up, and therefore resigned. Mr. Huskisson and Lord Harrowby were in turn appealed to by the King, but neither would venture on the Premiership. Before Parliament met, the Duke of Wellington was promoted to an office which he had not long before declared he should be mad ever to think of—that of Prime Minister of England. But the change was not so great as every one at first expected. Mr. Peel, of course, came back to the Home Office; but Mr. Huskisson remained in the Colonial, Lord Dudley in the Foreign, and Lord Lyndhurst on the woolsack. The most noted circumstance was, that Huskisson consented to sit side by side with those who had deserted and cruelly assailed



his friend—or, as Mr. Canning's widow wrote to him, in terms of bitter reproach, "her husband's murderers." A really important change was, that the Marquis of Anglesey displaced Lord Wallesey in the Viceroyalty of Ireland.

When the necessary explanations had been made in both Houses, the only matter of interest before them was, the Test and Corporation Acts—the repeal of which was this year effected. It was one of those events which mark the silent growth of certain influences, rather than the pressure of exigent circumstances. There had been little previous agitation on the subject, and, for ten years past, there had not been as many petitions presented. Arrangements were made with Lord John Russell for its introduction early in the session, and the stream of petitions that at once poured in showed how heartily the Dissenting organizations were at work. On the 26th of February, his lordship moved for a committee of the whole House on the Sacramental Test and Corporation Acts, in a very characteristic speech. He showed under what circumstances these acts originated—the one in the distrust of the restored Stuart towards Non-conformists; and the other in the unwillingness of the Parliament of James the Second to allow, and even of the Dissenters to accept, any toleration which the Court might employ for the promotion of Papists. His lordship showed, that when these motives ceased to operate, the only objection to the removal of the acts was a logical one—namely, that there would be no consistency in the exclusion of Catholics; and that, therefore, an annual act of indemnity had been passed since the time of Walpole. He showed further, that the influence of these half-obsolete enactments was dishonourable to the Church,\* irritating to Dissenters, and unworthy of the age. The motion was supported by Mr. J. Smith, the leader of "the Dissenting interest;" by Lords Althorpe, Milton, and Nugent, and by Messrs. Brougham, Ferguson, and R. Palmer. The opposition was conducted by Mr. Peel, Sir R. Inglis, and Mr. Huskisson. The Minister objected that the grievance was unreal. "Look," said he, "at the Ministry—of the fourteen members who compose the present Cabinet; three, Lord Aberdeen, Lord Melville, and the President of the Board of Trade, are Scotsmen, and good Presbyterians. As to corporations, the Lord Mayor of London, for last year, was a Dissenter. It is only a nominal predominance that is given to the Church by these Acts. All the arrangements and intercourse between the Dissenters and the Establishment have been marked of late years by the most perfect cordiality, and he regretted any

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\* As an illustration of the religious influence of requiring persons to qualify for office by taking the sacrament in the Church of England, one of the speakers related, that it was customary in some parts for a churchwarden or sexton to announce from the church steps, to a waiting group, "Now, you who want to qualify, come this way!"

chance should be hazarded by which it was possible that that temperate and cordial feeling should be interrupted." Sir Robert Inglis spoke much as he would speak now on any cognate question. Mr. Huskisson took up a position that was much lamented by his general admirers, and irretrievably damaged his reputation. He professed himself an enemy to all civil disabilities on account of religion, but argued that as those now complained of were only a part, and the least part, of a great system of wrong, their removal should be resisted as calculated to retard the destruction of the whole. He fortified this opinion by the examples of Mr. Pitt—who, he said, had been anxious to remove the disabilities of Dissenters, but forebore from fear of injuring the Catholic cause—and of Mr. Canning. Lord Palmerston followed in a similar strain. The motion was carried, however, by a majority of 44 [237 to 193]. Ministers sagaciously bowed to the decision of the House, and offered no opposition to the progress of the bill; but they burdened it with what they termed securities. In committee, Mr. Sturges Bourne obtained the substitution for the sacramental test of a Declaration that the person taking office would not use its powers for the subversion of the Established Church. As another clause provided that it should be optional with the Crown to dispense with this declaration from its officers, the authors of the bill contented themselves with protesting against the imposition of any such badge of distinction. In the upper House the bill was read a first and second time without a division. The Duke of Wellington commended it on its own merits, as well as on account of its adoption by the Commons: the old principle of exclusion, he said, was no longer defensible. Beside the Whig Peers, the Archbishop of York, and the Bishops of Lincoln, Durham, and Chester, supported the measure. Lord Eldon was its almost solitary opponent, and he fought, as he said, "like a lion, but with his talons cut off." Aided by Earl Winchelsea, he moved numerous amendments in committee—one of which aimed at the exclusion of Unitarians from the benefit of the bill. The Bishop of Llandaff unfortunately succeeded in adding to the Declaration the words, "on the true faith of a Christian." The addition was made for "the sake of decorum," for "the credit of Parliament," as a recognition of the national faith; and not for the purpose which it has too effectually accomplished—namely, the exclusion of Jews. Lord Holland foresaw that result, and, with his accustomed boldness, entered a protest against the addition on the books of the House—as well because it would affect persons not contemplated, as because "the introduction of the words 'upon the true faith of a Christian,' implies an opinion in which I cannot conscientiously concur, namely, that a particular faith in matters of religion is necessary to the proper discharge of duties purely political or temporal." The amendments of the Lords were agreed to by the Commons; and the bill was read

a third time, with expressions of gratitude and congratulation from Lord Holland, and angry bewailings from Lord Eldon, as over "as bad, as mischievous, and as revolutionary a measure as the most captious Dissenter could wish."—An attempt was made two years later (April, 1830), by Mr. Robert Grant to undo the effect of the abjuration, "on the true faith of a Christian." A bill for the admission of Jews to Parliament was introduced by favour of a majority of 18, but thrown over at the second reading by 228 to 165.

The influence which this episodal achievement must have on the main struggle, was foreseen on both sides. There was not much surprise, therefore, when the House of Commons reversed its last decision by adopting, by a majority of six, a resolution brought forward by Sir Francis Burdett, affirming the expediency of satisfactorily adjusting the Catholic claims. That was in the middle of May; and it was determined to economize time and effort by ascertaining how the Lords would entertain such a resolution. A formal "conference" was accordingly held, but before it had come to a practical issue, a new element was thrown into the controversy. Mr. Fitzgerald, member for the county of Clare, had just been admitted, from circumstances to be elsewhere related, into the ministry. As he was in favour of the Catholic claims, and possessed great local influence, there was no suspicion that his re-election would be opposed. But the Catholic leaders had determined that Mr. O'Connell should be returned to Parliament, and the Clare vacancy was seized upon as most opportune. O'Connell assured the freeholders, on his high reputation as a counsellor, that there was nothing to prevent his being elected; and that, if elected, he would take his seat and vote. Mr. Butler, an eminent English barrister, gave a similar opinion; and the Catholics of both countries liberally subscribed. On the spot the excitement was intense. Haranguing and canvassing was going on day and night—in Mr. Shiel's phrase, "Every altar was a tribune;" and the landlords were not less active than the priests. Even before the polling began the influence of this extraordinary electioneering was visible in the highest quarter. In the debate on the resolution sent up by the Commons, the Duke was for the first time ambiguous—hinting that if the agitation would only hush itself for awhile, something might be done: only a month or two before he had declared no one's feelings were more decided than his in opposition to the Catholic claims. (Notwithstanding the conciliatory tone of the Premier, the resolution was lost by a majority of 44—181 to 137). On the 30th of June the polling commenced. The speaking on one side was as much an exaggeration of ordinary hustings orations, as were the whole proceedings an abuse of a grave political trust. In those times elections extended over weeks, but on the second day Mr. Fitzgerald resigned, amazed and hopeless at the incessant influx of "Forties," headed

by their priests, and shouting, "For God and O'Connell!" A protest against Mr. O'Connell's return was put in; but the perplexed sheriff decided, after hearing counsel, that he could not do otherwise than certify his election by a majority of qualified electors, notifying also the circumstances of the contest. The session was suffered to close without the new member presenting himself to the House; and with the session expired the act under which the Catholic Association was dissolved.

The recess was vigorously employed by both parties, in both countries. The English Catholics and Dissenters were now more hearty than they had ever before been in the Liberal movement. The openly-revived Association dictated a pledge to be exacted from Parliamentary candidates, boasted that it would carry all the counties as it had carried Clare, and produced by the bare threat a number of convenient conversions. The first and most important of those who thus surrendered was Mr. Dawson, brother-in-law to Mr. Peel, a member of the Ministry, and the leader of the Irish Anti-Catholic members. On the 12th of August, he avowed, at a public dinner in Londonderry, that either the Association must be crushed or conciliated, or society at large would be dissolved—he was thenceforth for emancipation, as the only means of restoring law and order in Ireland. His relatives and colleagues disavowed participation in this sudden change of opinion; but it was felt that he did not speak altogether on his own authority, and his example was extensively followed. The feeling was confirmed when, in December, a letter from the Premier to Dr. Curtis, the Roman Catholic Primate, with whom he had become intimate when in Spain, enlarging on what he had said in the Lords, was made public. Though only a private letter, it was read by Mr. O'Connell to the Association, and placed on their minutes as a proud trophy. The Primate wrote again to the Premier, assuring him of the impossibility of "burying the subject in oblivion," as the Duke desired, for however short a time. He next transmitted the whole correspondence to a mutual friend, Lord Anglesey; who, in reply, expressed his pleasure at learning "the precise sentiments" of the Premier, but recommended quite an opposite course to that advised by his chief—that "the question should not be for a moment lost sight of," but that "the Catholic trust to the justice of his cause." This letter was not only placed on the records of the Association, but a tribute of admiration and thanks was voted to the writer—who was recalled by the next packet, and the Duke of Northumberland appointed in his stead.

On the other side there was activity and turbulence. The only notable demonstration in England was a meeting of twenty thousand persons on Pennenden Heath [October 24th], on the requisition of the Kentish gentry. The Earl of Winchelsea and Sir Edward Knatchbull, one of the county

members, were the principal speakers in support of an anti-Catholic petition—Earl Camden, Earl Darnley, Earl Radnor, and Lord Teynham, advocated leaving the matter to the discretion of Government—Messrs. Hunt and Cobbett were refused a hearing, and the petition was carried by a large majority. “Brunswick” or “Constitutional” clubs were formed in many parts of England, but their proceedings were tame compared with those of the Irish Orangemen, who armed as well as organized, and indulged in language at least equally provocative of outrage with that of the Catholic leaders. One of the few foolish among the latter, Mr. Lawless, formed the mad project of marching a Catholic army through the North, where lay the strength of the Protestant party. Accordingly he gathered tens of thousands to meetings where a collision with the armed and excited Orangemen was barely prevented by the utmost exertions of magistrates and military. O’Connell put forth his mighty influence to stop this, and actually turned back bodies of fifty thousand men, on one of their expeditions. At the same time, so far from moderating his tone as his prospects of success grew brighter, he scorned the idea of compromise, and threatened with an insurrection another attempt to disfranchise the “Forties.”

The anxiously expected royal speech was delivered on the 5th of February, 1829, and contained the intimation which was anticipated by all but the blindest Tories. After lamenting the continued existence and mischievous activity in Ireland of illegal associations, and calling for measures to vindicate the authority of law, his Majesty recommended, “that when this essential object shall have been accomplished, you should take into your deliberate consideration the whole condition of Ireland, and that you should review the laws which impose civil disabilities on his Majesty’s Roman Catholic subjects. You will consider whether the removal of those disabilities can be effected consistently with the full and permanent security of our establishments in Church and State, with the maintenance of the reformed religion established by law, and of the rights and privileges of the bishops and clergy of this realm, and of the churches committed to their charge.” On the same day, Mr. Peel addressed a letter to the Vice-Chancellor of Oxford University, tendering his resignation of the University representation, as he found himself impelled to advise the King to grant those claims to resist which he believed he had been elected. Great exertions were made to secure his re-election, but the anti-Catholic feeling was intense among the clerical members; and the other party were fortunate in selecting for a candidate Sir Robert Harry Inglis; who, on the third day, was declared elected by a majority of 146 on 1,364 votes. Mr. Peel was almost immediately returned for the borough of Westbury.—In the debates on the address, and on the presentation of petitions—which soon reached a hundred per night—bitter was the vituperation of the “arch-apostates,” the

Duke of Wellington and Mr. Peel. The former was betrayed into fighting a duel with Earl Winchelsea, in vindication of his honour;\* but the Home Secretary declared that though not insensible to, he would not be excited by the incessant attacks upon him—and he kept his promise. It was first necessary to suppress the Association. The bill for that purpose was introduced on the 5th of March—with an answer to the demand, why the Government had failed to make effectual use of the act of 1826, that they could not draw a bill of indictment against seven millions of people—and it was pushed on so rapidly, that by the 24th it finally passed the Lords; by which time the Association had again dissolved itself. On the 5th of March—for which day there had been a “call of the House”—Mr. Peel rose to move that the House go into Committee on Catholic Disabilities. In a speech of four or five hours in length, he gave a history of the entire question, and of his own connexion with it—developed the provisions of the proposed measure—justified the change, and his own reluctant consent to be an instrument of effecting it, on the grounds of inevitable State necessity—and described what might and might not be anticipated from the concession he now proposed. He showed that every administration since 1794 had been divided, if not broken up, by this question. He put it to the House whether it was possible to let things alone, and whether any ministry would undertake a forcible interference. He retorted on the reply to his details of outrage in Ireland, “This is the old story,” that that was the very reason for a change. He laid down as the principle of his measure, equality of civil privileges among the adherents of diverse religions, except there were special grounds of restriction. He proposed to substitute for the oath of supremacy, an oath to be taken on entering Parliament, of fidelity to the existing institutions in Church and State—and to admit Catholics to all offices but those of Regent, Lord Chancellor, and Viceroy of Ireland; and offices connected with the Church, its universities, and schools. He declined to vest the right of veto in the Crown, to interfere with the relations of Catholics in the United Kingdom to the Pope, or to endow their clergy; but, in the way of securities, he would forbid the use, by their bishops, of titles identical with those used by the episcopate of the established churches—restrict the increase of monastic institutions, and the residence of a greater number of Jesuits than those already in the country, and who were to be registered—and lastly, he would raise the freehold franchise in Ireland from forty shillings to ten pounds yearly value; but that must be by a separate bill. After vindicating his own motives in a few expressions of contempt alike for office

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\* At this time, the *Standard*, and other Tory papers, were declaring that the Duke designed to usurp the monarchy, and that Mr. Peel was his willing instrument!

and popularity, he gracefully attributed the honours of Catholic emancipation to its life-long advocates, to Grattan and Fox, Plunket and Canning; and concluded with a passage which has been much referred to of late :—  
“ And now, although I am not so sanguine as others in my expectations of the future, I have not the slightest hesitation in saying, I fully believe that the adjustment of this question, in the manner proposed, will give much better and stronger securities to the Protestant interests and establishment than any other that the present state of things admit of, as well as avert evils and dangers impending and immediate. I know I might have taken a more popular and a more selfish course—more acceptable to the friends with whom I have long acted, and to the constituents whom I have lately lost; but in the course I have taken, I have consulted for the best for Protestant interests and Protestant establishments. This is my defence against the accusations I have endured—this is my consolation under the sacrifices I have made—this shall be my revenge. I trust that, by the means now proposed, the moral storm may be appeased, the turbid waters of strife may subside, and the elements of discord may be stilled and composed. But if these expectations shall be disappointed,—if, unhappily, civil strife and contentions shall survive the restoration of political privileges—if there be something inherent in the Roman Catholic religion which disdains equality, and will be satisfied with nothing short of ascendancy,—still I am content to run the hazard of the change. The contest, if inevitable, will be fought with other objects, and with other arms. The contest then will be, not for an equality of civil rights, but for the predominance of an intolerant religion. We shall be able to fight that battle more advantageously after this measure shall have passed, than we could do at present. We shall have dissolved the great moral alliance that has hitherto given strength to the cause of the Catholics. We shall have ranged on our side the illustrious authorities which have heretofore been enlisted on theirs; the rallying cry of civil liberty will then be all our own. We shall enter the field with the full assurance of victory—armed with the consciousness of having done justice, and of being in the right—backed by the unanimous feeling of England—by the firm union of orthodoxy and dissent—by the applauding voice of Scotland—and, if other aid be requisite, cheered by the sympathies of every free state in either hemisphere, and by the wishes and prayers of every free man, in whatever clime, or under whatever form of government, he may live.”

It is an illustration of the intensity of the public excitement at this juncture, that persons had been waiting in the lobbies of the House from ten in the morning to hear this speech; and that the cheers it evoked at some parts were so enthusiastic as to be heard in Westminster Hall.—Mr. Peel was followed on that and the next night by a number of speakers,

chiefly on the side of the Opposition, the Whig leaders contenting themselves with briefly supporting the Minister. Sir Robert Inglis and Mr. Estcourt, the members for Oxford University, and Mr. Bankes, were foremost in argument and invective against the measure and its authors; especially demanding that the country be appealed to by a dissolution of Parliament—to which Mr. Peel replied by a forcible picture of Ireland in the pangs of a general election. The influence he had exerted was visible in the majority of 188 (348 to 160) for going into committee. The bill was introduced on the 10th, by which time there had been presented 957 petitions against and 357 for emancipation. Among the remarkable features of the debate was, the suspiciously sudden and violent conversion of Sir Thomas Lethbridge, the Somersetshire member, who had been one of Mr. Canning's fiercest assailants, and was but a few weeks before the pet of the Protestant party, yet now expressed unmeasured approval of the scheme. An example of an opposite character was afforded on the first night of the debate on the second reading (the 17th), by the honest Sir Charles Wetherell, who had resigned his office of Attorney-General rather than draw the bill, and indulged in the severest personalities, especially fastening on Lord Lyndhurst—"I was not in one year Protestant Master of the Rolls, and in the next a Catholic Lord-Chancellor." The next night there was a majority of 180 for the measure. One of the amendments moved in committee was, to add the Premiership to the list of exclusive offices, as the Prime Minister appoints the bishops; but that, and all the others, was rejected. The third reading was carried with only one night's debating—lasting, however, till near sunrise—and the majority was again 178 in a House of 462.

On the evening of the same day (the 31st), it was taken up to the Lords by a numerous body of the Commons, and read a first time at once. The Duke would listen to no appeals for delay, and fixed the second reading for the 2nd of April. It was on that night he made the celebrated speech:—"It has been my fortune to have seen much of war—more than most men. I was constantly engaged in the duties of my profession from boyhood until I grew grey. My life has been passed in familiarity with scenes of death and human suffering. Unfortunately, I have been chiefly engaged in countries where the war was internal—where a civil war was maintained by conflicting factions. I must say that, at any sacrifice, I would avoid every approach to the horrors of a civil war. My Lords, I would do all I could—I would run any risk—I would sacrifice my life to prevent such a catastrophe! Nothing could be so disastrous to the country, nothing so destructive of its prosperity, as civil war: nothing could take place that tended so completely to demoralize and degrade as such a conflict, in which the hand of neighbour is raised against neighbour, that of the father against the son. and the son against the father of the



brother against the brother, of the servant against his master—a conflict which must end in confusion and destruction. If civil war be so bad when occasioned by resistance to Government—if such a collision is to be avoided by all means possible, how much more necessary is it to avoid a civil war in which, in order to put down one portion, it would be necessary to arm and excite the other. I am quite sure there is no man that now hears me who would not shudder were such a proposition made to him; yet *such must have been the result*, had we attempted to terminate the state of things to which I have referred, otherwise than by a measure of conciliation.” The Archbishop of Canterbury led the opposition, by proposing the usual negative amendment, which was supported by the Primate of Ireland, the Archbishop of York, the Bishops of Durham, Salisbury, and London, Lord Eldon, the Duke of Richmond, the Earl of Winchelsea, the Marquis of Salisbury, the Earls of Harewood, Enniskillen, Falmouth, and Mansfield, and Lords Kenyon, Sidmouth, and Tenterden. Conspicuous among the converts were, the Bishop of Oxford, the Lord Chancellor, and Lord Goderich. The Whigs were represented by the Duke of Sussex, Lord Grey, Lord Holland, the Marquis of Lansdowne, and the new Irish Chancellor, Plunket. After four nights’ debate, there appeared (including proxies), 217 for and 112 against the bill. In committee, Lord Eldon toiled in vain, either to mutilate or retard the measure. On the third reading, the Duke of Cumberland renounced for himself and his party all confidence in the Duke of Wellington, and the bill finally passed by a majority of 204 (213 to 109).

The final struggle had come at last. For fifty years the Parliament and people of England had been studiously impressed with the idea, that a mysterious, sacred objection prevailed with the supreme head of the State to Catholic emancipation—the reality of the obstacle was now to be tested. The Duke of Wellington had not scrupled to declare, in justification from the charge of having kept the public in ignorance of his intentions until the last moment, that it was because the King’s consent was not till then obtained. Lord Eldon’s Memoirs give a corroborative revelation of the royal mind. It is not very clear what the King’s objection was—certainly, it was not that of his father and brother, a conscientious adherence to a mistaken conception of the coronation oath, nor a general regard for the stability of Protestant institutions. It could have been only a vague notion that one change must lead to another, and that any change must disturb his seclusion. There are many things disgusting in the history of kings—there is nothing more despicable than what we are about to give on the authority of the archetype of a loyal subject and conservative Minister. [“Life of Lord Eldon,” vol. iii. p. 82, *et seq.*].—Before the bill left the Commons [March the 28th], the ex-Chancellor had an interview of four

hours' length with the King, which he has copiously reported in his journal. His Majesty opened the conversation with so palpable a falsehood, that Lord Eldon felt obliged to accompany his memorandum of it with an expression of disbelief—namely, that Mr. Canning had engaged never to let him be troubled about the Catholic question. He went on to complain of his present Ministers—that they had never shown him the bills that were now in process—that one of them was utterly inefficient to carry out the course he had recommended, and the other gave him the greatest possible pain and uneasiness—that “he was in the state of a person with a pistol presented to his breast,” his Ministers having twice threatened to resign, and knowing that he had nothing to fall back upon—that they had twice talked him into a state of distraction, when he had said, “Go on.” “He then repeatedly expressed himself,” continues Lord Eldon, “as in a state of the greatest misery, repeatedly saying, ‘What can I do? I have nothing to fall back upon;’ and musing for some time, and then again repeating the same expressions.” Lord Eldon at last ventured to ask whether his Majesty meant either to enjoin or forbid his considering some method of extricating him from this embarrassment. “He said, ‘I neither enjoin you to do so, nor forbid you to do so; but for God’s sake take care that I am not exposed to the humiliation of being again placed in such circumstances that I must submit again to pray of my present Ministers that they will remain with me’”—not a word about the exigencies of the country, not a thought of aught but his own ease. When the Earl went again to present addresses—the day before the bill passed the Lords—he courageously told the King, that it was now almost impossible to interfere, as the measure had been carried to its present stage on the representation that his Majesty had fully assented, after full explanation of it to his Majesty. The King had said on the last occasion that it was only twice, and verbally, and when exhausted with conversation, he had assented—*now*, “he produced two papers, which he represented as copies of what he had written to them (his Ministers), in which he assents to their proceeding and going on with the bill; adding, certainly, in each, as he read them, very strong expressions of the pain and misery the proceedings gave him. It struck me, at the time, that I should, if I had been in office, have felt considerable difficulty about going on after reading such expressions; but . . . I told his Majesty it was impossible to maintain that his assent had not been expressed, or to cure the evils which were consequential, after the bill, in such circumstances, had been read a second time and in the Lords’ House, by a majority of 105. This led him to much conversation on the fact, that he had, he said, been deserted by an aristocracy that had supported his father—that instead of 45 against the measure there were twice that number of peers for it—that everything was revolutionary everything

was tending to revolution—and the peers and aristocracy were giving way to it." Lord Eldon, dismal comforter as he was, agreed that matters were tending rapidly to revolution, but thought it only just to the ratting peers to say that they had acted in obedience to his Majesty's understood desire. Last of all, his Majesty bethought himself of the coronation oath, but even his old adviser could not counsel him to make a stand on that. So he fell again to bemoaning himself as miserable and wretched, with nobody to advise him—and then to threatening, "If I do give my assent, I'll go to the baths abroad, and from thence to Hanover; I'll return no more to England—let them get a Catholic king in Clarence or Sussex." "These," Lord Eldon adds, as though dissatisfied, "were the strongest appearances certainly of misery. He more than once stopped my leaving him. When the time came that I was to go, he threw his arms round my neck and expressed great misery." A few days afterwards he writes—" (April 14th). The fatal bill received the royal assent yesterday afternoon. After all I had heard in my visits, not a day's delay! God bless us and his Church!" There was only one thing more to be done—and that was to spite the Ministers and their leading supporters by marked incivility at the next royal levee, which was accordingly done by this "first gentleman in Europe."

The price of emancipation, however, had yet to be exacted—"the almost extravagant price of the inestimable good," as Mr. Brougham said—namely, the disfranchisement of the Irish Forties. The bill for effecting this passed quietly through both Houses, the number of votes against it being seventeen in each—the majority 206 in the Commons, and 122 in the Lords. Mr. Huskisson and Lord Palmerston were among the few who argued against it as an unnecessary exercise of a questionable right. The Parliamentary Reformers assented to it, and even Mr. O'Connell was silent—or, rather, noisily endeavouring to divert attention. He had made no effort to take his seat during the discussion of the Relief Bill, and it was thought by many a meanness that he was personally excluded from so doing immediately on its passage, by a clause limiting the applicability of the new oath to persons returned after the royal assent to the bill. In the Easter recess, Lord Surrey, son of the Duke of Norfolk, was elected for Horsham, and was therefore the first Catholic member admitted. On the 15th of May, Mr. O'Connell presented himself to be sworn, but the clerk tendered the old oath, which he refused, as no longer required by law. The Speaker decided otherwise, and ordered him to withdraw. Mr. Brougham moved that Mr. O'Connell be heard in support of his claim; but it was resolved, after an adjournment of the debate, that it should be from the bar, and not as a sitting member. Mr. O'Connell accordingly spoke at the bar, and with such moderation as to astonish his hearers, who knew him only as the burly demagogue. The

House resolved, by 190 to 116, that he was not entitled to sit without taking the oath of supremacy. He requested to look at the oath, and after apparently deliberating upon it, said: "I see in this oath one assertion as to a matter of fact, which I know is not true; and I see in it another assertion, as to a matter of opinion, which I believe is not true. I therefore refuse to take this oath." It was then proposed to pass an act for his relief, in order to avoid the excitement of another election; but ultimately the issue of a writ for the county of Clare was agreed to without a division. It was not till the 30th of July—nearly a month after Parliament had risen—that the election came on. Mr. O'Connell was unopposed, but not the less did he avenge himself for the mortification of returning to his constituents without having taken his seat. His language was more outrageously violent than ever. The statesmen who had carried emancipation were abused without measure, and everything unpalatable about the concession was set down for speedy abolition. He now also raised the cry for the Repeal of the Union, and pledged his life to the achievement. The Catholic Association was revived in another form, the levying of rent was continued, and five thousand pounds were voted from the balance in hand for returning the leading agitators to Parliament. At the same time the county of Tipperary was in a condition of the utmost lawlessness, secret societies re-appeared, the Insurrection Act had expired, Parliament had risen, and the Government saw with dismay that the difficulty of governing Ireland had not ceased with the removal of that great grievance which had obscured all lesser causes of discontent.

Such is the eventful and instructive history of Catholic Emancipation.—We have seen the masterful will of Pitt, the persuasive genius of Fox, the arbitrary intellect of Castlereagh, and the eloquent advocacy of Canning, successively employed from the seats of Government on its behalf—and we have seen that all these were exerted in vain. We have seen, too, the growing spirit of English liberalism, represented by Brougham, and all the force and cunning of the Irish character, with the added unscrupulousness of a religion which dispenses with moral obligations for the attainment of desired ends, embodied in O'Connell—we have seen these engaged on the same side, but we can hardly say that they were more than auxiliary to its success. We have seen, on the other hand, that blind attachment to existing institutions and supposed fidelity to religion, most conspicuous in George the Third and Lord Chancellor Eldon—the childish dread of change, but stronger fear of unavailing resistance, so pitifully displayed by George the Fourth, but which probably actuated the majority of those by whom resistance was maintained till concession lost all dignity and conversion all honour—we have seen these, with the pride of the great soldier and the strong conservatism of the statesman, bending or breaking beneath the

imperious necessity of an unseen power. What is the lesson of all this? Is it not one at once of distrust and of faith. Pitt pawned his honour for the accomplishment of Catholic emancipation, and lost it—Wellington took office to prevent Catholic emancipation, and he accomplished it—O'Connell swore to preserve the forty-shilling franchise, and he quietly surrendered it—yet who shall say that these men lied? There was a power above and around them, breaking the great heart, bending the strong will, taming the boastful tongue—a power that carried on the cause in spite of its enemies, and in spite of its friends. What was that power? Politicians say, the growth of public opinion—moralists talk of the inherent force of a just cause—the religious call it the providence of God. They are all right; for it is God who has established the law by virtue of which the right is ever tending to realization, and who teaches, by events, the blindest and stubbornest of men. “I have nothing to fall back upon!” was the wail of the miserable king—“The sun of England has set for ever!” was the lessselfish lament of his old adviser. Poor men! Let us, reader—you and we, in the little perplexities of our private life, and in the nobler solitudes of public concerns—learn from this intricate, humiliating story, that there is ever the encircling atmosphere of the Divine care to fall back upon, and that acts of legislature can no more prevent the rising of to-morrow's sun than lessen towards the next generation that Divine love which is shed on all the ages with impartial beneficence. Except history teach us this, it is, we deem, in the memorable phrase of Lord Plunket, “no better than an old almanack.”

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## CHAPTER X.

THE BISHOP OF PETERBOROUGH'S EIGHTY-SEVEN QUESTIONS—A NEW MARRIAGE ACT—AMELIORATION OF WEST INDIA SLAVERY—THE REV. JOHN SMITH, THE DEMERARA MARTYR—MR. BROUGHAM'S MOTION—THE COLONIES, AND EMIGRATION—CRIMINAL LAW REFORM—THE COURT OF CHANCERY—PARLIAMENTARY REFORM.

WE must return some distance on this track, so crowded with events, and bring up the topics that have fallen behind. First, we observe considerable excitement, in the years 1821 and 1822, of an ecclesiastical kind. On the 14th of June in the former year, Lord King presented to the House of Lords a petition from the Rev. H. W. Neville, who had appointed the Rev. John Green to a curacy in the diocese of Peterborough. The Bishop of that diocese (Dr. Herbert Marsh) was conspicuous for his High Churchism, and

he took this occasion of employing a rarely-used prerogative against a clergyman of opposite opinions. Though Mr. Green had just been ordained by the Bishop of Gloucester, Dr. Marsh told him he was unfit to be a clergyman, and put into his hand a paper containing eighty-seven questions, with just space enough for yea or nay answers. The young man declining this test, he was refused his license, and appealed to the Archbishop of Canterbury, but in vain. The next year the matter was revived by a similar petition from the Rev. W. Grimshawe, on behalf of the Rev. Mr. Thurtell. This gentleman had not refused the test of the eighty-seven questions, but replied to them at large, on separate sheets of paper, which the Bishop would not accept—he wanted “short, plain, and positive answers,” within a few inches of ruled space, that he might “know whether the opinions of the person examined accorded with those of the Church.” The House of Lords refused to entertain the question; and the bishops said not a word on either occasion—except Dr. Marsh, who defended his right to examine his clergy as he pleased—to the unconcealed contempt of some of the lay lords.—A semi-ecclesiastical question—that of marriages—had some time occupied the occasional attention of Parliament; and in the session of 1822, an act was passed—much to the scandal of Lords Eldon and Stowell—confirming marriages of doubtful legality, and preventing the diversion of property to persons who hoped to profit by such alliances.

In the session of 1823, Mr. Thomas Fowell Buxton moved, “that the state of slavery is repugnant to the principles of the British constitution, and of the Christian religion, and that it ought to be abolished gradually throughout the British colonies, with as much expedition as may be found consistent with a due regard to the well-being of the parties concerned.” Mr. Canning proposed instead, resolutions declaratory of the expediency of immediately ameliorating the condition of the slave population, with a view of fitting them for emancipation at the earliest period compatible with safety. The Ministerial resolutions, after a long and animated debate, were carried without a division; and it was ordered that they should be laid before the King. Great was the clamour that forthwith arose from the slaveholding interest, both in this country and the colonies. And it was soon seen that Ministers intended even more than they had said. A circular, dated Downing-street, May 24th, was despatched to the authorities of the different islands, calling attention to the expressed opinion of Parliament, and intimating that henceforth there must be no flogging of women, nor must the cart-whip be heard at all in the fields. The Jamaica House of Assembly began to talk at once, as the slaveholders of the American Southern States have long done, of proclaiming their independence rather than submit to dictation; but after a little reflection, they voted that they would carry out the recommendation of the circular in

their own way, and from their own good intent.—In Barbadoes, a missionary named Shrewsbury was assailed while in the pulpit, the next evening his chapel was demolished, the Governor's proclamation was answered with a counter manifesto from the rioters, and Shrewsbury was compelled to flee for his life.—At Demerara worse was done, to result in infinite good. The functionaries there made no official notification of the instructions received, even after the Court of Policy had resolved to act upon them. But the domestic slaves heard their masters speak of the interference of the King of England, and communicated to their fellows what they took to be the news of emancipation. Naturally suspecting from the silence preserved that they were to be defrauded of the boon, and irritated by a recent ordinance which forbade them to attend their beloved missionary chapels except by written permission of their owners, they rose. This rising was brief and bloodless. The negroes did but strike work, rescue their leaders when seized, imprison some of the whites, and put others in the stocks. That was on the 18th of August. On the 19th, the Governor proclaimed martial law, and delivered over the pacificated negroes to the fury of their masters, who had been panic-stricken the previous day. Though only a single white man's life had been lost, above two hundred negroes were killed and wounded, forty-seven were hanged, and many more received scourgings more cruel than death. The Governor kept the colony under martial law for five months after the insurrection had been utterly quelled. One of the persons brought to trial before a court-martial was the Independent missionary, John Smith; of whom the Episcopalian clergyman declared, "nothing but those religious impressions which, under Providence, Mr. Smith has been instrumental in fixing—nothing but those principles of the Gospel of Peace which he has been proclaiming—could have prevented a dreadful effusion of blood here, and saved the lives of those very persons who are now (I shudder to write it) seeking his." After a confinement of two months in a prison, alternately exposed to burning heat and reeking damp, he was convicted—on the evidence of three negroes, who afterwards recanted what they had said—of having incited the slaves to revolt, of having concealed their intention to rise, and of having refused to serve in the militia (which he had done on the ground of ill-health, and of legal exemption). He was sentenced to death, and the sentence transmitted to England for sanction. The Government rescinded the sentence, but decreed Mr. Smith's banishment from the colony. Before that decree arrived he was beyond the reach of his persecutors. Medical men had repeatedly declared that he must die if not removed to a better room, but he was not even allowed a change of linen. On the 6th of February, 1824, he expired. That none of his sable flock might gather about his grave, his interment was ordered to take place

at midnight. Even his widow and a female friend obtained the privilege of shedding a last tear upon his remains only by eluding the constables; and when two negro artisans had built a rude tomb, it was torn up by official hands. Such was the martyrdom of the missionary Smith of Demerara—illustrious as any of those who

“Lived unknown  
Till persecution dragged them into fame,  
And chased them up to heaven.”

Intense was the feeling excited in England by the intelligence of these proceedings. The London Missionary Society, who had sent out Mr. Smith, circulated detailed and correct information, including a report of the trial, and the old and new anti-slavery men eagerly seconded their efforts. It was not the religious public alone, but nearly the whole body of the nation, that united in reprobating the infamous cruelties of the slaveholding functionaries towards the negroes, and the judicial murder of their pastor. After due deliberation, Mr. Brougham moved in the House of Commons for an address to the King, on account of “the violation of law and justice” which had been committed in the trial of the Rev. John Smith. He showed that the court had no rightful authority, that its conduct was grossly partial, the evidence suborned and utterly inconclusive, and that as the charge on which he had been convicted was, at most, misprision of treason, there was no pretence in English law for sentencing him to death. The motion was supported by the principal speakers of the Opposition—Mr. (afterwards Judge) Williams, Mr. (late Lord Chief Justice) Denman, Dr. Lushington, Sir James Mackintosh, and Mr. Wilberforce (in his last speech in Parliament). It was met at first by the Colonial Minister with a direct negative; but, on the second night of the debate, Mr. Canning substituted “the previous question.” That right honourable gentleman displayed on the occasion, to a lamentable degree, the perverting influence of office; and in his comparatively feeble attempt to extenuate the procedure he could not justify, ignored his own memorable sentence, “Have a care how you leave to the owners of slaves the task of making laws against slavery.” The Attorney-General, Mr. Scarlett, and Mr. Tindal (in his first Parliamentary speech), defended the Demerara authorities on the ground of the Dutch law, which had formerly prevailed in the colony—a pretext which Mr. Brougham, in the second of his masterly speeches, tore into pieces. The motion was lost by 193 to 146. But the influence of that debate was widespread and lasting. The story of the missionary’s death was repeated in every home, and the names of those who refused even to censure his murderers were noted for remembrance at the hustings. Pity for the victim, sympathy with his widow and flock, compassion for the wholesale



sufferings of the alleged rebels, contempt for the excuses and indignation at the spirit of the slave-owning authorities, were all concentrated in a resolution of unappeasable hostility against the system of which this enormity was the natural fruit. It was noted, that the trial was clearly on the issue, whether or not any religious instruction should be permitted to the slaves—that subsequently the planters had petitioned the Court of Policy to expel all missionaries from the island, and prohibit their future residence—and that the official paper had repeatedly declared it was incompatible with the submission of the negroes to their legal owners that white men should address them as “beloved brethren.” Brought to this issue, it was resolved that the great struggle should be quickly fought out. Slavery had thrown down the gauntlet to whatever was liberal, humane, and Christian, among the people of Great Britain; and they did not hesitate to accept the defiance. From the session of 1823 we may date the commencement of the Abolitionist agitation.

It was about this time that the great modern movement of emigration began to be visible in England. In 1825, it was announced, that the business of the colonial department had so increased, that it was necessary to have a second Under-Secretary of State for that department; and Mr. R. W. Hay was appointed in addition to Mr. R. Wilmot Horton. The government of about forty dependencies, besides the oversight of various commissions on colonial subjects, was divided between these two gentlemen; and they were now charged with the business of emigration, to which Government had, since 1822, lent assistance through parochial functionaries. In the session of 1826, Mr. Horton, in moving for a select committee on the expediency of encouraging emigration, informed the House that 2,298 persons had been deported from Ireland to Canada at an expense of little more than £20 each, and 1,063 to the Cape of Good Hope. The Custom House returns show that the people had begun to take the matter into their own hands—that in 1820, nearly 18,000 persons emigrated; in the next year, about 13,000; in the prosperous years, '24 and '26, only 8,000 and 9,000; in the disastrous year '26, nearly 14,000. Nine-tenths of these numbers went to our North American colonies, nearly all the remainder to the Australias, the amount of emigration to which trebled within six years.

The unwearied labours of the philosophic and humane Sir James Mackintosh achieved an important result in the session of 1823. Never had a cause such impressive advocacy from conspicuous and continually recurring facts. We are revolted, as we go through volume after volume of the “Annual Register,” and other contemporaneous records, to read how every assize resulted in men, women, and boys being hanged by the dozen. The effect upon the criminal classes was shown in the alarming

fact that the number of executions was frightfully increasing. But even the influence of the infliction of the law's sanguinary award was exceeded in evil by the influence of its habitual violation. It had become customary in cases of ordinary felony, to "record," instead of passing, sentence of death; and as it became known that this meant only transportation, the administration of justice was preportionably shorn of its primary attribute, certainty. Sir James Mackintosh proposed a resolution, pledging the House to a revision of the criminal laws; and, though Mr. Peel objected to the proposition in general, it was carried by 117 to 110. Shortly afterwards, the Home Secretary introduced and carried four bills, further restricting the number of capital offences.—About the same time, the barbarous practice of impaling at midnight, and at the junction of cross-roads, the body of a suicide, was abolished; and the last pair of stocks existing in the city of London were removed. The introduction of the treadmill into prisons was a change in, perhaps, the opposite direction.

Commencement was made of another great reform—that of the Court of Chancery. Complaints were rife and loud of cases having been locked up for half a century, and of estates being beggared; to which it was for some time thought sufficient to reply with assertions of the Chancellor's high judicial qualities. In the session of 1823, Mr. Williams moved for a committee of inquiry, and shortly afterwards the Chancellor himself desired a commission. When Mr. Williams' motion was renewed, early in the following session, Mr. Peel moved instead for the appointment of a commission, which was at once agreed to. Throughout the session of 1825 their report did not appear, and the House ordered a list of cases "heard during the last eighteen years wherein decision has not been given." The Chancellor—who, unfortunately, had all along made the matter personal, and sadly lowered his dignity by venting his passion from the woolsack—grew angry with his colleagues, and threatened to retire; in answer to which they advised him to get the Report ready. But, by the meeting of Parliament he had again become, as he says, "easy and callous;" and bore with "considerable good humour" some vehement attacks upon him made on the presentation of petitions from Chancery victims. In one of these discussions Mr. Hume is reported to have said, he thought the Chancellor and his court the greatest curse a country could be visited with. Through the clamour that arose, the calm voice of Mr. Grenfell was heard:—"If his honourable friend had stated that the Lord Chancellor was a curse to the country, he had done that which was not altogether becoming in him, or any other member, to do. But if his honourable friend had said that the Court of Chancery was a curse to the country, he had stated that which no man conversant with the subject could deny; it was only stating the current opinion of ninety-nine men out of every hundred." When the

Report did appear, it contained no fewer than 167 propositions for the amendment of the constitution and practice of the Court! It was quickly followed by a Government bill, embodying some of these recommendations; but as a dissolution was at hand, the bill was not discussed.

The greater cause of Parliamentary reform was making way in the country. It had gained a new class of leaders—the youth of the Whig aristocracy and gentry; and a new class of supporters, the impoverished farmers. In the session of 1823 there were three unusually significant petitions presented on its behalf—one from the corporation of London, another from the farmers of Norfolk, and the third from the great county of York. To the second not much importance was attached, as it had been adopted by a meeting in the Guildhall of Norwich, after one of Cobbett's most extravagant harangues, and prayed for the discharge of the National Debt from the funds of the Church, as well as for a radical reform in the representation. But the Yorkshire petition bore the signatures of 17,000 freeholders, including many of the nobility. Within the House the question made an analogous, though not a proportionate progress. Lord John Russell's motion for taking these petitions into "serious consideration," was negatived by 280 to 169; but every successive session witnessed more animated debates, and larger minorities—so that it came to be admitted, even by the inveterate anti-reformers on the Treasury benches, that the new Parliament must settle the question.

## CHAPTER XI.

PURITY OF ELECTION—THE GAME-LAWS AND SPRING-GUNS—CRIMINAL JURISPRUDENCE—THE BATTLE OF NAVARINO—PROVISION FOR MR. CANNING'S FAMILY—THE SOLDIER IN OFFICE AND THE SCHOOL-MASTER ABROAD—MINISTERIAL DISRUPTION—MR. BROUGHAM ON LAW REFORM—FRANCE UNDER CHARLES THE TENTH—DON MIGUEL USURPS THE THRONE OF PORTUGAL—GENERAL SALDANHA AND THE ENGLISH GOVERNMENT—RUSSIA, TURKEY, AND GREECE—DISTRESS AND RETRENCHMENT—COMMITTEE ON THE EAST INDIES—NEGRO SLAVERY—CAPITAL PUNISHMENT FOR FORGERY—THE MARQUIS OF BLANDFORD'S, LORD JOHN RUSSELL'S, AND MR. O'CONNELL'S PLAN OF REFORM—PROSECUTIONS OF THE PRESS—THE KING'S ILLNESS AND DEATH—RETROSPECT OF THE REIGN.

IF the General Election of 1826 did not augment the voting power of the Reformers, it at least furnished them with fresh arguments and opportunities for the session of 1827. The committees on disputed returns reported that scenes of gross bribery and corruption had been enacted at Colchester, Northampton, Leicester, Preston, Penryn, and East Retford. The two latter were marked for punishment. Lord John Russell moved, as an amendment to

a Ministerial motion, for introducing a bill for "effectually preventing" the repetition of such scenes at Penryn, that the borough be disfranchised—which was carried by almost two to one. A similar resolution was adopted with regard to East Retford. It was proposed by a majority of the Reformers to transfer the forfeited right of representation to Manchester and Birmingham; but circumstances prevented the further prosecution of the matter that session. Lord Althorp and Colonel Davies obtained committees for considering the duration and mode of polling at county, city, and borough elections: his lordship stated, in support of his proposal, that the late election for Yorkshire had cost £120,000; and that, if the popular candidate had gone through the fifteen days' poll, the expense would have been scarcely less than half a million! Lord Althorp also carried a bill with the object of preventing bribery under the guise of employment—to which was added, on the suggestion of Mr. Spring Rice, the prohibition of ribbons, cockades, etc., as another element of expense.

In the same session two bills were introduced into the Lords for the partial repeal of the Game Laws, under which 4,500 persons had been imprisoned within three years. Both these bills proposed to legalize the sale of game; and the first—introduced by Lord Wharncliffe—to mitigate the penalties of poaching; and both were thrown out, on the third reading, by small majorities. Lord Suffield, however, carried a bill prohibiting, in England, the barbarous practice of setting spring-guns, and other instruments of death. In Scotland, the question was settled by the judges, before whom it had been brought by the case of a game-keeper of Lord Home, indicted for murder—a spring-gun charged by him having shot a man. The English judges, Abbott, Bailey, and Best, had, a few years before, decided that the act was no offence, either legally or morally; but their Scottish lordships agreed that the general doctrine of the law was, no crime may be prevented by the infliction of death, that would not be punished by that penalty;—besides the liability of killing unconscious trespassers, old people and children, "some unhappy botanist or lover," as wrote Sydney Smith, in an article [*"Edinburgh Review,"* vol. xxxv.] than in which his pungent wit was never better employed. But the legislative achievement of the session was, the passage of five acts, under the charge of Mr. Peel, though no longer in office, for the consolidation of the criminal law. The aim of the statesman was an ambitious one, as stated by himself—"What I desire is to collect all that is valuable from existing statutes, and to preserve, from a mass of contradiction and confusion, various provisions introduced at different periods into our criminal law—to abolish every part of the criminal statutes that cannot with safety be acted on, and to accommodate the laws relating to crime to the present circumstances of the country, and the improved state of society." To make only an approach to this worthy end

was a high honour and a great service—Mr. Peel added to the service and the honour by his readiness, in a few years later, further to accommodate the state of the criminal law to the state of society.—A motion by the Chancery reformers, for taking bankruptcy cases from under the jurisdiction of that court, was lost by a large majority.

We have mentioned that it was the last official act of Mr. Canning's life to conclude with France and Russia a treaty of interference on behalf of Greece, which was now utterly prostrate before the Sultan of Turkey, or rather, his vigorous lieutenant, Mahomed Ali. The treaty alleged truly, that the interference of the European powers was demanded by humanity and the common interests of all nations—for while scenes of barbarity were being continually enacted by the Turks on the land, the Mediterranean swarmed with pirates under the Greek flag. The allies therefore required the evacuation of Greece by the victors, and its constitution into an almost independent state. As the Sultan replied only in terms of astonishment and refusal, a combined squadron was sent to enforce compliance. The final reply of the Turkish minister seems unanswerable as a *tu quoque*—“‘God and my right,’ such is the motto of England; what better answer can we give when you threaten to attack us?” Within the term allowed for deliberation, Ibrahim Pacha (the adopted son of Mahomed) entered the Morea with ninety-two ships, and was allowed to join the Turkish fleet in the harbour of Navarino, on the understanding that he would not be allowed to return if the Porte resolved on resistance. A verbal armistice was concluded for twenty-one days, which Ibrahim is said to have violated by sending out two divisions of ships. These being driven back, he revenged himself by devastating the surrounding country. The three admirals (Heiden, De Rigny, and Codrington), thereupon resolved to enter the harbour, and keep guard over the Turkish-Egyptian ships. They anchored, unopposed, within the batteries. Then, probably from a misapprehension, an English boat was fired into; and a discharge of musketry in return was answered by a cannon-shot, and that again by a broadside. That was at two o'clock, P. M., on the 20th of October, and in four hours the Turkish fleet was a ghastly wreck, though they had the advantage in the number of ships and guns, and in position. The slaughter was dreadful on the side of the defeated—the allies had only 626 killed and wounded, of whom the majority were English. The Sultan received the news with an equanimity that would have been highly creditable had it not been assumed. English merchants and travellers were not slaughtered, nor even detained, nor their goods seized—the ambassadors were not even dismissed. The victors were far more disconcerted than the vanquished. The commanders were anxious, having acted on their own judgment; and the English Cabinet was the more perplexed that it had lost him who could best have vindicated them to the

country. But the country generally needed no vindication—it hailed the news of the battle as decisive of Grecian liberty; and not only put aside the question of international justice, but veiled from itself the dilemma, Would Turkey war with us in revenge for her fleet? or, from the loss of it, would not Russia devour Turkey? Government promptly justified, thanked, and honoured, the admiral and officers; but betrayed their indecision by afterwards sending out a commission of inquiry into the affair. The task of framing the King's speech for the session of 1828 was left to another ministry; who made his Majesty deeply lament the conflict of Navarino, and characterised it as an "untoward" event—which offended nearly all parties. The subject was much debated, but no division was taken upon it. The Tories were angry that we had broken the right arm of our ancient ally, as they persisted in designating Turkey, notwithstanding an able historical statement by Lord Holland of our merely amicable relations to that power—the Whigs, generally, joined with Mr. Brougham in celebrating the battle of Navarino as "a glorious, brilliant, decisive, and immortal achievement." "Decisive" it unfortunately was not—for while these debates were going on, a letter from the Sultan was being circulated among his governors of provinces, explaining that the apparent apathy at the loss of the fleet was but to gain time, and instructing them to rally the people to a holy war, as a fatal struggle between the infidels and the worshippers of the Prophet was at hand. By some means this extraordinary document became public, and temporising was, of course, immediately at an end. Christians and Greeks were banished, the Bosphorus was closed, the corn vessels in the harbour were seized, and every preparation was made for war, which was formally declared by the Emperor of Russia in April. Thus was the treaty of London shivered to atoms by the very method taken to enforce it. Never was there a more instructive comment on the favourite maxim of statesmen, that to display the powers of war is the surest means of maintaining peace.

In pursuance of a resolution come to in the previous session, a finance committee was moved for by Mr. Peel, who represented that there had been effected a reduction of forty-eight millions and a half on the debt since the peace. The principal result of the committee was a suspension of the act for granting Government life annuities, which, it was found, had been based on erroneous calculations, and was occasioning a loss to the public of £95,000 a-year.—Among the estimates for the year was, a provision for Mr. Canning's family. The great statesman had been honoured by the King with a funeral at Westminster Abbey, and the bestowal of a peerage on his widow, and the public were already raising statues to his memory in various places. But he had died a poor man. Never possessing personal property, he had been dependent on the rewards of office; and it was

admitted by his friends, that to repair his wife's fortune and provide for his children, had been a motive in accepting the Indian appointment, which could have had few native charms for his mind. As he had renounced that at the command of his sovereign—or, as his enemies said, at the call of ambition—it seemed but just that his family should not suffer; and besides, he would have been entitled to the three thousand a-year which it was now proposed to settle on his sons if he had lived two years from his entrance upon office. But the proposition was vehemently and almost ferociously opposed. Mr. Banks, Colonel Sibthorp, and others of the old Tory party, condemned it on the ground that Mr. Canning's career, especially its closing acts, had been a calamity to the country; Mr. Banks actually declaring that to Mr. Canning should be charged all the expenses of Navarino. Another party, represented by Lord Althorp, Mr. Hume, Poulett Thompson, and Daniel Whittle Harvey, objected on the ground of economy or of precedent. But the Ministry and the more liberal of their adherents supported the vote with a warmth and unanimity which indicated an anxiety to atone for the attacks and desertions of the last session; while Mr. Canning's immediate friends, and the Whig leaders, lavished encomiums on the minister so suddenly taken from their admiration and hope. The vote was agreed to by 161 to 54. As Mr. Canning's eldest son was in the navy, and therefore exposed to fatal casualties, the pension was granted for two lives; and, unhappily, the prudence of that arrangement was soon verified, for, five months afterwards, the Post-Captain was drowned at Madeira, while bathing after violent exercise.

In the debates on the late Ministerial changes, a remarkable speech was made by Mr. Brougham. He complained that the appointment of the Duke of Wellington to the Premiership was unconstitutional. No one, he said, valued more highly than himself the services of the Duke as a soldier; but he did not like to see him the constant and confidential adviser of the Sovereign, at the head of the civil and military establishments, possessing the perfect confidence of the court and of most of the aristocracy, dispensing all the patronage of the Crown, the army, and the Church. "But let it not be supposed," concluded Mr. Brougham, in words that still linger in the popular memory, "that I am inclined to exaggerate. I have no fear of slavery being introduced into this country by the power of the sword. It would take a stronger, it would demand a more powerful man than even the Duke of Wellington to effect such an object. The noble Duke might take the army, he might take the navy, he might take the mitre, he might take the seal—I would make the noble Duke a present of them all. Let him come on with his whole force, sword in hand, against the constitution, and the energies of the people of this country will not only beat him, but laugh at his efforts. There have been periods when the country has heard with dismay that the soldier was abroad. That is not

the case now. Let the soldier be ever so much abroad in the present age, he can do nothing. There is another person abroad—a less imposing person, and in the eyes of some an insignificant person—whose labours have tended to produce this state of things. *The schoolmaster is abroad* ; and I trust more to the schoolmaster, armed with his primer, for upholding the liberties of the country, than I fear the soldier with his bayonet.”

The next matter of interest was, another ministerial schism. When Mr. Huskisson went down to Liverpool for re-election as a member of the Wellington cabinet, he declared he had not taken office without knowing that Mr. Canning's policy would be carried out. On the Premier's attention being called to the report, he indignantly denied that he had given any guarantee of his intended policy. Mr. Huskisson explained, with, perhaps, too much eagerness, that he merely said, or meant to say, that the composition of the cabinet was an indication of the opinions intended to be acted upon. Thus the misunderstanding was healed ; but the two sections of the Ministry did not seem to work well together, and in May they split asunder. Lord John Russell and Mr. Tennyson had brought in the bills to disfranchise the boroughs of Penryn and East Retford, and to transfer the representation to Manchester and Birmingham. Mr. Huskisson had spoken in the previous session in favour of this arrangement, but his new colleagues desired only to enlarge the representation of East Retford, by taking in the surrounding hundreds. While the Penryn bill was awaiting rejection by the Lords, the East Retford bill was divided upon by the Commons ; and Mr. Huskisson, for want of previous conference, and challenged by the Reformers with his former speech, voted against his colleagues. He went home, and in the excitement of the moment—although the Ministers had not been defeated—addressed a letter, superscribed “private and confidential,” to the Duke of Wellington, offering to resign his post. The Duke chose to regard the letter as an actual resignation ; and, as such, immediately laid it before the King. Mr. Huskisson now declared that he never intended to resign, but regarded his letter, as he had marked it, as strictly private. Lord Dudley, and other members of the Ministry, called upon the Duke, and urged that it was a mistake ; but the Duke replied, “It is no mistake, and it shall be no mistake.” After repeated letters to his implacable chief, Mr. Huskisson so far humbled himself as to request an interview with the King, and had the mortification of a denial. The Duke then suggested that he should withdraw the letter, but for that he was still too proud, and his office was accordingly filled up. But he was accompanied in his secession by all the “Canningites”—Lords Dudley and Ward, Lord Palmerston, Mr. Lamb, and Mr. Grant. They were succeeded by Sir George Murray, Lord Aberdeen, Sir Henry Hardinge, Lord Francis Egerton, and Mr. Vesey Fitzgerald.

In the session of 1828, Mr. Brougham greatly distinguished himself by



a speech of six hours' duration on the subject of law reform. He concluded this remarkable oration by moving for the appointment of a commission for "inquiring into the defects occasioned by time and other causes in the laws of this realm, and into the measures necessary for removing the same." The Government assented; and the motion, enlarged to include the two branches of common law and the law of real property, was carried unanimously.—At the recommendation of the former of these commissions, in 1830, the judicature of Wales was united with that of England, the twelve judges were increased to fifteen, and two Scotch Courts—the High Court of Admiralty and the Commissary Court—were abolished. In the same year, an illustration was furnished of the high character of the British tribunals by the great excitement felt at the discovery that Sir Jonah Barrington, Judge of the Irish Admiralty Court, had been guilty of malversation, so long before as the years 1805, '6, and '10, by appropriating part of the proceeds of condemned vessels. He was removed from his office on an address from both Houses of Parliament to the Crown—a necessary preliminary, wisely provided for securing independence of the Executive for the administrators of the law.

Public attention was engrossed during the recess with foreign affairs. It will be remembered, that Louis the Eighteenth of France was succeeded, in the summer of 1824, by his brother, Charles the Tenth. No change of Ministry took place, but the unpopularity of Villèle became intense, and a presentiment of impending troubles spread itself through French society. The Chamber of Peers rejected a Ministerial project on the law of primogeniture, and refused to permit the presence of the Jesuits in the public schools. The Chamber of Deputies had been elected under every species of Ministerial influence, but contained a powerful Opposition, who were supported out of doors by all the talent and vigour of the press. The latter it was resolved not only to disable, but almost to destroy. Early in '27, M. Peyronnet, Minister of Justice, introduced a scheme unparalleled in the annals of constitutional government. It provided that no work should be allowed to leave a printing-office till five days after a copy had been deposited with the police, and works of more than twenty sheets within ten days after the deposit, under penalty of fine and the confiscation of the whole edition. Periodicals were to be laden with such heavy duties that their publication would be almost impossible; and, as to newspapers, besides the augmentation of securities and stamp duties, all proprietors above the number of five were to dispose of their interest within thirty days, and a fine of five hundred francs was imposed on every article relating to the private life of any individual without his written permission. The Deputies would hardly listen to Peyronnet's exposition of this project; and one of the Liberals, Casimir Perier, exclaimed, "You might as well propose the sup-

pression of printing in France for the benefit of Belgium." Instantly, petitions began to pour in, even from the remotest departments. The most remarkable of these was from the ultra-loyal Academy, and was the composition of M.M. Chateaubriand, Lacratelle (the dramatic censor), and Villemain. The King refused to receive the memorial of the Academy, and dismissed the leading members from their offices; but the public hastened to honour them with a subscription, and widely circulated their address. The Ministers could only obtain the passage of the bill through the Deputies by consenting to its mitigation; and the Peers insisted on commencing its discussion by examining the chief booksellers and printers of Paris as to its probable effect. While this examination was proceeding, the King had occasion to review some regiments of the National Guard; and so chilling was his reception by them, that the soft-hearted monarch the next day summoned his Ministers, and commanded the withdrawal of the measure that extended its odium even to himself. Great was the public rejoicing, and especially that of the thirty thousand journeymen printers, whose craft has been so conspicuous in the subsequent history of Paris. A few days later, at another review, while the King was received with loyal cries, there were loud shouts for the abasement of the Ministers and the Jesuits. Overcome by evil counsels, the King that night disbanded the National Guard. In June, the censorship was restored; the Peers were swamped by seventy-six creations, including five archbishops; and next, to the universal surprise, the Chamber of Deputies was dissolved. Lafayette made a tour through the departments, everywhere damaging the Government by his harangues; and, notwithstanding that every effort was put forth, the Ministerialists were in many places defeated by a junction of ultra-Loyalists and Liberals—for this insensate Government belonged to the party known as the Moderates. In Paris, every Ministerial candidate was rejected, and some symptomatic rioting took place. At last it was discovered, even by the Government, that they were on a false track. In January of '28 Villèle resigned, and all that year he was kept out of office by an act of impeachment, which was held suspended over him. Englishmen were the more interested in the struggle from the circumstance that Prince Polignac, the French ambassador here, and the supposed director of his colleagues at home, was the intimate friend of the Duke of Wellington, and a frequent visitor at Windsor.

Another subject of interest in England was, the progress of the war between Russia and Turkey. For some time no important success was achieved by the Russians; but, before the close of the year, the Czar had dexterously concluded a peace with Persia, and the army that had been engaged in the East under Paschievitch, was turned with effect upon the Asiatic provinces of the Porte.—But of far more interest than either the struggle in France, or the war in southern

Europe, was the assumption by Don Miguel, in Portugal, of kingly and absolute power. That hopeful prince had been spending some time in England, from which the best effects were augured to his political morals. The Princess Regent resigned her office in January (1828), and presently Don Miguel landed at Lisbon. He publicly took the oaths to govern according to the constitution, as his brother's deputy, and as the protector of his niece; but omitted, it is said, by the connivance of the officiating archbishop, the essential ceremony of kissing the Gospels. It is too evident, that perjury was in his heart; for the next day an anti-constitutional Ministry was appointed, to the utter dismay of the monied classes and the Liberals—hundreds of the latter hastening to escape from the capital, while hired mobs continually shouted for Miguel the First and the Queen Mother, under whose influence the usurper was known to be acting. The time had come for the return of the troops sent by Mr. Canning two years before. Our ambassador ventured to detain them under the circumstances; but the Ministry decided at once that they had no mission of interference with the domestic affairs of Portugal, and the troops returned. In March the Chambers were dissolved—in April, Don Miguel was proclaimed King in the capital and several provincial towns—and in May, he summoned in that capacity the Three Estates of the kingdom, which had not assembled for a hundred and thirty years. They at once declared Don Miguel the lawful King of Portugal, and he assumed the title accordingly. Immediately all the ambassadors but those of Spain and Rome took their leave. The Liberals had before rallied in Oporto, appointed a junta, and raised an army, which the Marquis of Palmella, General Saldanha, and others of the exiles, left London to command. But things were mismanaged, as usual in the Peninsula; invaluable time was lost; and the Constitutionals were glad to make their way through the north of Spain to Plymouth, where a dépôt was established for their reception, leaving some three thousand sympathizers in the prisons of the capital, and a vengeful commission traversing the country. Meanwhile the child-queen, Donna Maria, was on her way from Brazil to Europe. Her conductors were met by the news of the usurpation, and they determined on making for England. She was received at Falmouth with royal honours, passed from town to town amid official and popular welcomes, and in London was promptly visited by the Ministers. On the 12th of October, the birthday of her father, the Portuguese and Brazilian representatives and residents, to the number of more than two hundred, assembled, and took the oaths of fealty to their Queen of nine years old, the Marquis of Palmella acting as her Prime Minister.

Lord Wharncliffe made another appeal to the Peers in the session of 1829, in support of a bill unanimously agreed to by the Commons for

legalizing the sale of game. The second reading was carried by a majority of ten, but the third was lost by a majority of two ; Lord Westmoreland declaring that the bill, if carried, would depopulate the country, not of wild fowl and quadrupeds alone, but of gentlemen !—The Tory Marquis of Blandford astonished the Commons by the discovery that now Catholics were admitted to Parliament, the “borough-market” must be closed, or Protestantism would inevitably be extinguished ; and he actually brought forward two resolutions, one declaring that there existed numerous small constituencies that might be bought for money, and the other that the existence of these boroughs and of such practices was disgraceful and injurious. The House could scarcely be brought to treat the subject seriously, and negatived the resolutions by a majority of 74 (129 to 55).—But next in interest to the Relief bill, were the debates on the conduct of our Government in relation to Portugal. The Ministry had so strictly, and, as it seems to us, honourably, preserved their pledge of neutrality, as to excite angry feelings both in this country and on the continent. Terceira, the largest of the Azore Islands, was the only spot in the Portuguese dominions which held out for the Queen. Thither the Constitutionalists contrived to convey from England a large quantity of arms and ammunition, assuring our Government that it was destined for Brazil. This breach of faith awakened a suspicion that an armament fitting out at Plymouth, under Saldanha, was intended for hostilities against the existing Government of Portugal, and not simply for the conveyance of refugees to Brazil. A squadron was therefore sent to cruise off Terceira, and as Saldanha persisted in pushing into port, Captain Walpole, our commander, fired into his ship. Saldanha then affected to regard his armament as prisoners of war, and, notwithstanding Captain Walpole’s assurance that he was at liberty to go where he pleased, followed him nearly into the British Channel. Captain Walpole then returned to Terceira in time to intercept another vessel from London ; and Saldanha finally brought up in the French harbour of Brest. Meanwhile Don Miguel was proving himself a ruffian as well as an usurper. Besides imprisoning multitudes, and confiscating their goods, he personally assaulted, with pistol and bayonet, his sister, the late Regent, on suspicion that she had sent some of her property to England, stabbed her chamberlain, and fired at the Princess a ball which took mortal effect upon a servant hastening to interfere.

By the middle of the year, the war between Russia and Turkey was concluded. Every port on the Black Sea surrendered to the Russians, under General Diebitsch ; then the Balcan fortresses ; and lastly, Adrianople was carried without a shot. On the 14th of September, a treaty of peace was definitively signed. No great sacrifice of territory was exacted from

the Turks, but they agreed to indemnify Russian merchants for losses by the war, to grant them extraordinary trading privileges, and to compensate the Czar in money for the cost of the war. There was, of course, no longer any obstacle to the settlement of the Greek question; and, after some opposition from Count Capo D'Istria, the Greek President, and his National Assembly at Argos, the representatives of the three powers agreed at London upon the boundaries of Greece, and its erection into a kingdom. Nothing was done at the time in the choice of a king, beyond resolving that no prince connected with the Courts of England, France, or Russia, should be elevated to the dignity.—In February of this year Pope Leo the Twelfth died, and was succeeded by Cardinal Castiglione, under the title of Pius the Eighth; one of whose first acts was to excommunicate the town of Imola, and to exclude from the amnesty usual on an accession all political offenders.

The year 1830 opened amidst such decided distresses, both in the agricultural and manufacturing districts, that Ministers were obliged to make it a prominent topic in the Royal speech at the opening of the session. In the discussions that ensued, the Opposition maintained that the distress was universal—Ministers, that it was but partial. Among the remedies proposed were, a return to paper currency, and the substitution of silver for gold as a legal tender. Sir James Graham brought forward a motion for a reduction of official salaries, on the ground that the value of money had been raised by the bill of 1819, and Mr. Hume for a committee of economical inquiry; but both were withdrawn in favour of a Ministerial resolution declaring the necessity of retrenchment. The reductions carried out, by lowering the salaries of some offices and abolishing others, amounted to £1,300,000. The duties on beer, cider, and leather were removed, affording direct relief to the sum of £3,400,000; but the duties on ardent spirits were increased.

In accordance with a promise given in the preceding session, a committee was appointed to inquire into the charter of the East India Company, and the condition of the ninety millions of people under their jurisdiction.—Towards the close of the session, Mr. Brougham delivered a great speech on the condition of the slaves in the West Indies. A legal functionary, called the Protector, had been appointed in several islands for their benefit. In 1827, the first claim of a slave to purchase liberation was made by a negro woman, in Berbice, and by the efforts of the Protector, it was successful. Mr. Brougham showed that nevertheless the negroes were still exposed to much cruelty and illegal treatment; and he carried a resolution, pledging the House to consider the subject of abolition in the next session.

Another step was made in the amelioration of the criminal code, by a bill introduced by Mr. Peel for abolishing the punishment of death for forgery, except in the case of official seals, of wills, on the public funds, and of

bank or promissory notes. Sir James Mackintosh argued from the continual increase in the number of executions\* for forgery, that the punishment had little effect in deterring from the crime, and carried a clause limiting the capital penalty to the case of will forgeries; but the Lords threw out that amendment, and the bill passed in its original form.

The cause of Parliamentary Reform, now without a competitor, received a great impulse. The Marquis of Blandford renewed, in an exaggerated form, his extraordinary resolution of the previous session, by proposing, as an amendment to the Address, what he called "a wholesome admonition to the Throne." This amendment proposed to inform the King, that besides the deep and universal distress of the nation, there was danger impending over all our venerable institutions; that both the distress and danger arose from the presence in that House of men who had purchased their seats, and used their power only to heap ruinous taxation upon the people; and that the remedy was to be found in a thorough reform of the representation. Several of the Radical members voted for this amendment, but others urged the noble Marquis to make a full development of his plan. Accordingly, on the 18th of February, the Marquis proposed that a Committee of the House should be chosen by ballot to inquire into the condition of all the city and borough constituencies, and report to the Home Secretary such as had forfeited their right to representation. The franchise was then to be transferred to certain large towns hitherto excluded, without compensation to the proprietors of the disfranchised boroughs. The suffrage was to be extended to copyholders, and certain other lessees; and all members were to be paid for their services, the members for counties £4, and the members for cities or boroughs £2 per day. This proposition was debated at some length, and was negatived without a division, the House having previously rejected, by a majority of 113, an amendment by Lord Althorp, "That in the opinion of this House a reform in the representation of the people is necessary." A few weeks later Lord John Russell again moved for the enfranchisement of Birmingham, in the place of East Retford. Mr. Huskisson voted as before; and in his speech we find, for the first time, a reference to the Birmingham Political Union, but evidently under the false impression that that association would be satisfied with the

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\* In the single year 1827, there had been 73 executions, of which only 11 were for murder; while the total number who had been convicted of capital crimes, and had had sentence of death passed upon or recorded against them, was 1,529! The proportion for several years of the executed to the condemned was about one in twenty.—A great sensation was made towards the close of 1829 by the execution of a Quaker, named Hunton, for forgery. Every endeavour was made to obtain a mitigation of his punishment, but unsuccessfully; and the public feeling excited, stimulated the legislature to prevent the repetition of such barbarous inflictions and unwholesome excitements.

enfranchisement of its native place. The motion was rejected by 126 to 99. Another resolution, by the same noble lord, was for leave to introduce a bill enabling Birmingham, Manchester, and Leeds, to return members. In this debate, Mr. Huskisson spoke again, and, unconsciously, for the last time. He supported the motion, cordially, but protesting against any more extensive change in the representative system. The motion was lost by a majority of 48. Again was the subject revived, and this time by the hero of Catholic emancipation, Mr. O'Connell, who moved for leave to introduce a bill enacting universal suffrage, triennial Parliaments, and vote by ballot. But neither Tory, Whig, nor Radical reformer did so much to stimulate the popular mind, as one who deemed all reform revolutionary—namely, the Duke of Newcastle. A petition had been presented from 587 independent electors of Newark, complaining that the constituency was under the dictation of the Duke of Newcastle, as proprietor of the surrounding estates. Those estates were chiefly Crown lands, held by the Duke on lease, which lease Ministers, admitting the improper use of the influence it gave, declared they would not renew. The Duke, amazed at any interference with what he deemed his undoubted right, expressed his amazement to the House of Lords in the memorable exclamation, "May I not do what I will with mine own?" The words were instantly caught up, and incessantly repeated, as an innocent confession of the feeling entertained by the anti-reform aristocracy of their relation even to the legally enfranchised among the people of England.

We must mention one more feature of the former half of the year 1830—namely, the prosecutions of the press, undertaken by the Duke of Wellington. Early in the year he directed his new Attorney-General, Mr. Scarlett, to prosecute the *Morning Journal* for libels against the King, the Government, and himself. The articles complained of were exceedingly vague, imputing only such indefinite offences as "treachery, cowardice, and artifice," to the Minister, and insinuating that he was in disfavour with the King; yet, for this, the editor and one of the proprietors were visited with fine and imprisonment. The printer and publisher of another paper were prosecuted for libels of which the private chaplain of the Duke of Cumberland avowed himself the author. A good deal was made of the circumstance that a similar course was being pursued, with as much more rigour as the different position of the two countries would permit, by the government of the Duke's friend, Prince Polignac, who, since the preceding August, had been Foreign Minister and virtual Premier of France. Mr. Scarlett never recovered the popularity which he lost by these prosecutions, and the Duke revived the popular antipathy to his person which was so frequently manifested in the days of Queen Caroline's persecution.

That unhappy Queen was probably avenged of her wrongs by the sufferings of her husband during these last few years of his reign. Never appearing in public, and admitting scarcely any but his Ministers to his "Cottage" at Windsor, he seems to have given himself up to the petulance of sickness, as he had, through his previous lifetime, abandoned himself to the indulgence of sensual appetites and a barbaric taste. It is the fitting retribution of such a life that it leaves no solace for the loss of enjoyments which must, in their nature, come to an end, and no fortitude to sustain the smarting of the sting they leave behind. The hated wife and the loved child had alike been taken from him; his hearth was empty, and his throne barren. Successive groups of companions had fallen off from the once roystering comrade, and left him to chide in solitude over faithlessness and desertion. And now vague fears of revolution, the feeling that he had a master in his chief servant, and that if he had not, he would be helpless and perhaps an outcast, came to culminate his wretchedness. Alike unprincipled and ill-tempered, he led his ministers nearly as wretched a life as himself, for, as we have seen, they could never rely upon his word, and were never safe from his spite. His people cared nearly as little about him as he about them; and would have received at any moment the intelligence of his death with a feeling of indifference, if not of relief. Nothing was known concerning him, except that he was very unwell; and when the physicians began to utter bulletins, they did not speak the truth, but reported continually that he was getting better. But on the 24th of May, a message was conveyed from the King to both Houses of Parliament to the effect that he was so ill as to be unable, without pain, to sign the documents to which the sign manual was indispensable. Provision was instantly made for relieving him of this trouble, every precaution being used to prevent abuse of so important a trust. But the necessity for it was very brief. On the 26th of June, at three o'clock in the morning, he felt a sudden pang—the rupture of a blood-vessel in the stomach—exclaimed to a page in attendance, "Is not this death?" and died without a struggle.

Death had taken some noble spoil within these last few years. Erskine, the orator, and Earl St. Vincent, the old naval hero, fell quietly out of the world's sight, leaving each a great name and inspiring remembrances to his profession. David Ricardo died in the same year, while yet in the flower of his life, when his influence as a political philosopher was just becoming manifest in legislation, and was about to be sorely needed by the public. Sir Stamford Raffles followed in 1826; leaving in Java and Sumatra a monument of his great talents for governing, and his benevolent desire to benefit his fellow-creatures. The Duke of York had something to set off against his dissoluteness, bigotry, and unpaid debts; he had done the State



good service in the administration of its military affairs, and earned the gratitude of the humblest soldier by caring for his comfort. How far Canning deserved well of his country may be differently judged from what we have seen of his career; but it is undeniable that his failing health was watched by the nation as though he belonged to every family, and his death excited a profound sensation of grief and dismay. Liverpool lingered between life and death till December, 1828, and had then a long train of mourners; for he had made many personal friends, and political opponents remembered with respect his confession, that, through twenty-five years of official life, he had never opened his morning's packet of letters without a painful apprehension of bad tidings. Lastly, in January, 1830, Tierney, the veteran Whig leader, was found dead in his chair; and even the many whom incompetence or delinquency kept in dread of his merciless, ever-ready sarcasms, could but regret him.—Of all we have enumerated, their sovereign alone had none to admire or deplore him.

It seems to be the lesson of this reign, that the personal qualities of our kings have little to do with the tenor of the national progress. Whether this be a conclusion complimentary or otherwise to our theory of government, we do not stop to inquire. George the Fourth was neither statesman nor warrior, neither a patron of scholarship nor a pattern of domestic virtue. He seems to have had no single quality to fit him for the headship of a nation. Yet the nation prospered and progressed in his time. A succession of able statesmen ruled in his name, and wrought out, with or without his consent, some of the most memorable changes which our history records. The reputation of England rose higher than it had ever done among foreign peoples, and the condition of her own children improved, or seemed to do so, in nearly every respect.—But to this last particular—the condition of the people of England, in their several relations, during this second period of our narrative—we must devote another and concluding chapter.

## CHAPTER XII.

REVIEW OF THE CONDITION OF THE PEOPLE FROM 1815 TO 1830—POPULATION, PAUPERISM, FOOD, AND CRIME—NATIONAL INCOME, EXPENDITURE, AND DEBT—EXPORTS AND IMPORTS—COMPARATIVE EXPANSION OF AGRICULTURE AND MANUFACTURES—WORKS OF PUBLIC UTILITY AND ADVENTURE—ADULT EDUCATION—PHILANTHROPISTS AND PUBLIC BENEFACTORS—PROSECUTIONS FOR IRRELIGION AND INFIDELITY—ARTISTS, PHILOSOPHERS, AND LITERATI—THE RELIGIOUS SPIRIT OF THE AGE.

IN concluding the first division of our narrative, we inquired into the progress of the people during that fifteen years in numbers, morals, and the means of subsistence. We have now to deal with similar particulars in relation to the second period of the same length. As before, we must be guided by such statistical data as are obtainable.

The first class of facts will be found in the following table, showing the population of England and Wales, the amount of rates for the relief of the poor, the equivalent of that amount in quarters of wheat, the average price of wheat per quarter, and the number of criminal commitments annually :—

YEARS.	Population.	Amount Expended in Relief of the Poor.	Equivalent in Quarters of Wheat.	Average price of Wheat per Quarter.	Criminal Commitments.
1816	11,160,557	£5724,839	1,503,240	76s. 2d.	9,091
1817	11,349,750	6,210,925	1,470,409	94s. 0d.	13,932
1818	11,524,389	7,570,801	1,881,466	83s. 8d.	13,567
1819	11,700,966	7,516,704	2,080,748	72s. 3d.	14,254
1820	11,898,155	7,330,256	2,226,913	65s. 10d.	13,710
1821	11,978,875	6,959,249	2,557,763	54s. 5d.	13,115
1822	12,313,810	6,358,702	2,940,440	43s. 3d.	12,241
1823	12,508,956	5,772,958	2,231,094	51s. 9d.	12,263
1824	12,699,098	5,786,898	1,850,612	62s. 0d.	13,698
1825	12,881,906	5,786,939	1,740,447	66s. 6d.	14,437
1826	13,056,931	5,928,501	2,083,221	56s. 11d.	16,164
1827	13,242,019	6,441,088	2,269,987	56s. 9d.	17,924
1828	13,441,918	6,298,000	2,084,855	60s. 5d.	16,564
1829	13,620,701	6,332,410	1,911,671	66s. 3d.	18,675
1830	13,811,467	6,329,042	2,125,772	64s. 3d.	18,107

As the census had been taken only once (in 1821) between the years 1815 and 1830, the population returns for the intervening years were made up from the parish registries ; and are, therefore, to be taken as only approximately accurate. The increase on the first decade of the century was 15.11 per cent.—on the second, somewhat less, 14.12 per cent.—and on the third, 14.91 per cent. ; so that either the war put no check upon the rate of increase, or the fifteen years of peace were subject to some new influence unfavourable to human fecundity ; and emigration could not have been that

influence, for the highest number of emigrants in one year (1830) was 30,000, and on the average of years it was not half that number. The next three columns have an ominously mutual significance. It will be observed, that the price of wheat and the amount paid for the relief of the poor rise and fall together, though not with invariable regularity; and some approach may be made to an appreciation of the burden of pauperism when it is seen how much bread-stuff was annually put aside from the national stock for the sustenance of the unemployed or disabled—the average consumption of wheat for each of the population being from six to eight bushels. The last column of the series is startling. The number of offenders committed for trial is declared to have risen nearly four thousand in one year, and to have doubled within fifteen years; a rate of increase quadruple that of the population. Of the number committed for trial, about two-thirds were convicted. A considerable proportion of these offences were against the person; and, towards the end of the period, there were many of a novel and revolting character. “Body-snatching,” and its more frightful sequence, “Burking,” were the worst of these. For some years the graveyards for miles around the metropolis, and wherever there were surgical schools, were infested nightly with the ghouls of civilization—ruffians who tore the newly-buried from their graves, for the sake of what the body would fetch at the dissecting-rooms; as much as ten, twelve, or even twenty guineas—while others laid fictitious claim to the corpses of persons who had died in the workhouse or by the wayside. But, towards the end of 1828, an accidental discovery horrified the profession and appalled the public—namely, that systematic murder had been going on in London and Edinburgh for the supply of the doctors. The detected accomplices, Burke and Hare, confessed to the death of fifteen victims, whom they had enticed home and stifled by a plaster or wet cloth. Uncertainty to what extent assassination had thus been practised produced a general consternation; and all who are old enough remember, that for a year or two after the wretch who gave a name to the method he used had been executed, amidst unparalleled expressions of execration, the timid avoided fields and byeways after dusk, lest they should be waylaid and “Burked.”—Another species of crime originated about the same time; and, unhappily, survives to this day to an appalling extent. At the Lancaster Assizes in 1828, Jane Scott was convicted of having poisoned her mother; and before her execution, she confessed to having murdered in the same way her father, and two children. As if the notoriety given to a new form of crime by its punishment stimulated to its repetition, poisoning has been ever since one of the commonest and most destructive of crimes, especially in the rural and more destitute districts.—The name of Esther Hibner is also met with in the record of these years, as the type of another class of newly-discovered crimes—that of cruelty to

female servants. This woman had been in the habit of taking parish apprentices, and of treating them with the most wanton barbarity, till one died under her hands, which procured the release of the remainder, and the death of their tormentor. Again was morbid imitateness excited; or perhaps, it was only that people's attention was excited—anyhow, a number of such cases were brought to light.—War upon machinery by the operatives it had unfortunately displaced, was no new thing; but in 1829 it took the new and desperate form of burning cotton-mills, and blowing-up with gun-powder the houses of the employers. A still wilder madness, that had first shown itself in France, was about to break forth in England—that of rick-burning; of which many were incredulous till it glared upon their own sight.—In these scattered facts we find symptoms of the condition to which society had wrought itself, and proof that poisonous elements were running side by side with the quickened streams of healthful life.

That there was much but irregular industrial activity, our next class of facts testifies. We have here a tabulated statement of the annual income and expenditure of the Government, the sums applied to the reduction of the national debt, and the value of exports, produce and manufactures, British and Irish:—

YEARS.	Total Income of Government.	Total Government Expenditure.	Sums applied to Redemption of the Debt.	Declared value of Exports, British & Irish.
1816	£82,778,605	£85,189,771	....	£41,657,988
1817	58,055,913	55,281,338	£1,826,814	41,492,312
1818	58,747,795	58,348,578	1,624,606	46,119,800
1819	52,648,847	55,406,509	3,163,130	34,881,787
1820	54,282,958	54,457,247	1,918,019	36,126,322
1821	55,834,192	57,130,586	4,104,457	36,333,102
1822	55,663,650	53,710,624	2,962,564	36,650,039
1823	57,672,989	54,333,740	5,261,735	36,375,349
1824	59,362,403	59,231,161	6,456,559	38,422,312
1825	57,273,869	61,520,733	9,000,725	36,479,651
1826	54,894,989	55,081,073	1,195,531	31,536,734
1827	54,932,518	55,823,321	2,023,028	36,960,376
1828	55,167,142	54,171,141	4,607,965	36,453,328
1829	50,786,632	51,635,137	2,760,003	35,522,617
1830	56,086,616	49,078,108	1,935,465	37,927,561

The yearly revenue, it will be observed, was diminished to twelve millions less in 1830 than in 1816, but that for several years in succession it was exceeded by the expenditure; and it will be remembered, that this reduction was not effected, until within the last six or seven years of the period, on the rational principle of reaping large returns from small imposts on articles of reproductive consumption. How little was to be attributed, up to 1823, to the sagacity or integrity of the Government, may be concluded from the fact, that notwithstanding the sums put down as applied to the redemption of the debt, they had managed to increase its amount by eleven millions

since the close of the war, and its annual interest by £700,000. The national creditors, the fundholders—above 275,000 in number—had had the value of their property fixed, by the bill of 1819, at a rate considerably above that at which it was contracted; and profited by the depreciation of prices which followed every attempt to restrict the currency. The landholders, no doubt, suffered severely by that process, their mortgages foreclosing and their embarrassments becoming deeper with every inclination of the money market towards tightness. But whatever the agriculturists suffered, they could not attribute it to foreign competition. It will be seen by a glance at the first of the tables given above how loftily ranged the price of wheat; and we may here add, that the annual average importation from 1811 to 1820 was only 458,578 quarters; and from 1821 to 1830, 534,992 quarters. The home-growers had, meanwhile, so increased their productiveness as to feed nearly two millions more mouths than before. But the number of families dependent on agriculture was diminishing in proportion to the general progress. In 1811 it was 895,998—in 1821, 978,656; while the number of families supported by trade and agriculture was, at the former period, 1,119,049, and at the latter, 1,350,329—the one increasing only at the rate of 7, and the other of 34 per cent. Our exports to foreign countries and the colonies did not steadily increase—the table shows that there was more than one reaction from over-production. The records of the cotton manufacture have a similar significance. The quantity of cotton imported in 1815, '20, '25, and '30, was respectively, 92,525,951 lbs., 152,829,633 lbs., 202,546,869 lbs., and 269,616,640 lbs.; while the declared value of the cotton goods exported in the same years was £20,620,956, £16,516,748, £18,359,526, and £19,428,664. Of the wages of the labourers on the farm, of the factory operatives, or the general artisan, there are no data sufficiently authentic and copious to justify a comparison between either the previous or the succeeding periods. They appear to have averaged—the farm labourer, 10s. a week; the factory operative, 16s.; the skilled artisan, 25s. to 35s. It is on record, also, that in a bad time, the Lancashire spinners did not make more than 5s. or 6s. a week; and that for the relief of the Spitalfields weavers £30,000 was collected in one year, and £10,000 in another.

And that there was much healthful intellectual activity throughout this period, we have many enduring monuments. So soon as the energies of the nation, released from the misdirection of war, and recovered from the exhaustion of collapse, found themselves at once free and strong, they were put forth, as by instinct, to enterprises of spirit and utility. Discoveries and inventions that could before scarcely gain a listener, now found hands outstretched from all sides to give them application. Thus from fifteen to twenty miles of the metropolis were lighted with gas; steam-vessels were run up and down the

Thames and all the principal rivers;\* the Menai bridge was stretched a hundred feet above high water-mark; the Caledonian canal was completed at an expense of £900,000; Chat Moss, traditionally impassable as any Irish bog, was solidified for the passage of locomotives and railway-trains between Manchester and Liverpool; the Thames Tunnel was commenced, and perseveringly continued, spite of difficulties from soil and flood; the St. Katharine's Docks were built upon the site of 800 houses; the ugly and dangerous Old London Bridge was supplanted by the splendid arches which now connect the City with Southwark; whatever is creditable in the market-places of London was effected; two of the Parks at the West End were beautified, and a third constructed; and the Post-office stretched, in the progress of its erection, over the whole period of our review. James Watt was the genius of the age, and was honoured as such by men of the highest rank in society, and of the highest eminence for intellect. There was something of the spirit of adventure and romance in this rage for improvement and material creation. It was the same spirit, only flowing in another channel, that impelled a Sunderland ship-master, named Smith, to venture so far beyond the usual track of the Pacific whalers as to stumble on the country he designated New South Shetland—that sent Captain Parry through the so-called Baffin's Bay into the Polar Sea, whence the Arctic enterprises of himself, Franklin, and Ross—that sustained Denham and Clapperton, Laing and Salt, to overcome, or consoled them in sinking under, the hardships of African discovery—and that inspired Belzoni, an Englishman by adoption, with the ardour of the antiquary and the skill of the engineer.

Education was another great work of the time. As upon no subject is there more disagreement than upon the provision now in existence for the instruction of the juvenile population, we will not hazard an estimate of the educational machinery that was then at work upon the rising generation. But it was not school instruction alone that had come to be in demand, or that the enlightened and benevolent were anxious to supply. It had begun to be perceived that what can be taught at school, however valuable, and though indispensable, is but an inconsiderable part of the process of education. It had occurred to a man of practical science and earnest philanthropy, Dr. Birkbeck, that adult workmen might be made acquainted with the principles which underlie their occupations; and that, to give them, if only an inkling of scientific knowledge, would be to ameliorate their condition, and to indefinitely advance the interests of science itself. He had made an experiment of the kind at Glasgow, and on his removing to London he resolved to renew it on a larger scale. He accordingly originated,

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\* Nine steam-vessels were built in 1815, in England and Scotland, 22 in 1821, and 72 in 1826.

with the aid of Mr. Brougham, in the year 1823, the London Mechanics' Institute; and in the next year laid the foundation of the edifice in Southampton-buildings. In a short time, nearly all the large towns had each a Mechanics' Institute; then similar societies were established in the smaller towns; and within five or six years, these institutions might be counted by the hundred. It was simultaneously discovered that there was a great deficiency of books for the people; and, in 1825, Mr. Brougham, Lord John Russell, Dr. Lushington, William Allen, and others, formed the "Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge," with which originated the "Penny Magazine," and other pioneers of cheap and wholesome literature. Another achievement was, the institution of the London University, for the education of young men of the middle classes and of the Dissenting communities, excluded from the great national schools. It was an indirect advantage of each of these three efforts in one direction, that they stimulated a corresponding, though rival exertion, among others, with whom anxiety for the diffusion of knowledge was tempered with solicitude for its being intermingled with certain moral influences.—We may mention, in this connexion, the institution of Musical Festivals, at York, Norwich, Birmingham, and Worcester; the commencement of that awakening of musical taste in the English people, which is almost equal to the creation of a new faculty, and which certainly has carried to thousands of homes delight unfelt by the families of prior generations.

There was a conspicuous group of men and women in these times inspired by that principle of commingled fraternity and compassion to which we give the name of philanthropy—William Allen, Robert Owen, and Elizabeth Fry. Allen and Owen were for many years partners in every scheme of beneficence; but Robert Owen added to them a project which went to the radical reconstruction of society, though it was not then encumbered by the *odium theologicum* to which it has since become obnoxious. Employment and education on principles more in harmony with the laws of our nature than those which had hitherto obtained, were the objects of his scheme; he devoted his own fortune to an experiment of the kind in Lankashire, and he inspired sufficient confidence in the wealthy and philanthropic to have placed at his disposal very large sums. Mrs. Fry was less speculative, and more immediately successful. A female Howard, she investigated personally, with infinite courage and self-denial, the condition of our prisons; exciting an interest among rulers and legislators in the improvement of their condition; and softening the hearts of the most hardened by the winning pathos and guileless wisdom of her speech.—But those are not the only philanthropists who give up their fortunes to works of mercy and schemes of human amendment; there is another class of benefactors, who make their ordinary avocations means of benefit to their race.

Thus Pestalozzi, the director of a Swiss Orphan Institution, released the youth of England for ever from the old, self-defeating system of teaching, by which an undigested mass of facts was forced into the mind, instead of its faculties being drawn forth, and directed on what to lay hold. Meanwhile, Dr. and Mrs. Ellis, the first superintendents of Hanwell Asylum, were developing a new method of managing the insane, whereby chains, whips, dungeons, and all the barbarous apparatus by which the loss of reason was treated worse than a crime, and its recovery rendered impossible, were displaced by a system of freedom, gentleness, and industry. Another good work was going forward at Edinburgh, where a committee of University Professors were engaged, in 1820, in watching the efficacy of Mr. Gall's invention for teaching the blind to read. And lastly—lastly, that is, as to our space for enumeration—there was Dr. Watson concluding his forty-five years' labour of teaching the deaf and dumb something like an articulate speech.—There had been, no doubt, in prior ages, men and women as wise and good as these; but the world did not then know its benefactors; they laboured in obscurity, and without mutual knowledge; they were repaid often with persecution, because misunderstood; but now, the arts of peace were found to include the whole circle of human necessities and sufferings, and there was not an outcast left uncompensated, not a disease without an attempted remedy.

There was one thing the age had not attained to—namely, the conviction that it is best as well as just, to leave matters of opinion to adjust themselves. We have had frequent occasion to advert to political prosecutions for sedition—we must here mention that almost as numerous were indictments for blasphemy or irreligious publications. Sometimes this ignorant, impolitic, and unholy zeal took a ludicrous, sometimes a virulent form. Thus, in 1822, when Mr. Murray, Lord Byron's publisher, applied to the Court of Chancery for an instruction to restrain printers from pirating his "Cain," the application was refused, because the poem contained what the Lord Chancellor deemed blasphemous matter; the withholding of the injunction tending, nevertheless, to promote the sale of the work. What was still worse, a similar application from the publisher of a physiological work by Mr. Lawrence, the eminent surgeon, was refused, on the ground that the work favoured the doctrine of materialism. In 1823, Miss Susanna Wright was punished for a libel on the Christian religion, by eighteen months' imprisonment, and a fine of £100. And in the next year eight shopmen of the infidel bookseller and writer, Carlile, were condemned to fine and imprisonment for having sold Paine's "Age of Reason," and other "irreligious" works. The natural but unfortunate effect was, that numbers associated the religion thus defended with the acts done in its name; but others, better informed, or more deeply reflective, asked whether Chris-



tianity were not more libelled by the judge on the bench than by the prisoner at the bar.

Art, literature, and philosophy, gave and received lustre from a multitude of names. Kemble and Kean divided the empire of the stage, and Sontag drew away the whole fashionable world in a time of the most intense political excitement to listen to her warblings. West, an American by birth, but President of our Royal Academy of Painting—Fuseli, the eccentric, but gifted artist, who found congeniality to his intellect in subjects of preternatural horror—Nollekens, who stooped his genius as a sculptor to an end for which genius rarely cares, the accumulation of money—Flaxman, whose works and life were alike beautiful, classic, sacred—William Sharp, the first of line engravers, and to whom we owe whatever educational value there may be in the profuse illustrations of our own day—Sir Thomas Lawrence, turned from works of high promise and ambition, to paint half the aristocracy of England, and all the royalty of Europe—these all died within a few years of each other. Among the patrons of art should be mentioned, Mr. Angerstein, whose collection of pictures Government bought for £57,000, as the nucleus of the National Gallery; Sir George Beaumont, who presented a number of valuable paintings to that collection; and Mr. Payne Knight, who bequeathed a collection of models and drawings worth £30,000 to the British Museum.—In a group of octogenarians, we observe Herschel, the great astronomer—Sir Joseph Banks, the eminent naturalist, companion of the circumnavigator Cooke—and Arthur Young, the father of scientific agriculture, and the highest statistical authority for more than half a century. We have another illustrious triumvirate in Dr. Wollaston, Dr. Thomas Young, and Sir Humphery Davy. Among what we may call the preceptive literati, we catch sight of Mrs. Barbauld, venerable for age and services—Miss Jane Taylor, a name familiar and beloved in every religious household—Richard Lovell Edgeworth, Lindley Murray, and Hamilton. High upon the seats of fame and authority, we see Sir Walter Scott, Jeffrey of the “Edinburgh,” and Gifford of the “Quarterly.” Coleridge had subsided into the wondrous talker, Wordsworth was biding his time for appreciation, and Southey working hard on prose, as the public did not rate highly enough his poetry. Keats perished in 1821, like an opening flower, rich in present and richer in promised beauty—Byron closed his feverish career in 1826, in the Greek camp—Shelley suffered shortly afterwards the fate he had prefigured in his *Alastor*. Heber and Pollok began and ended their too brief course.—Nor must we forget the great preachers of the time—Hall, Chalmers, and Irving. While the first-named continued to the close of his painful life to attract to the Dissenting pulpit unwonted respect, and to retain unmeasured admiration for his personal qualifications, Chalmers was beginning to exercise upon the educated youth of Scotland,

as subsequently upon the whole public, a powerful influence on behalf of what is known as Evangelical Christianity. Irving was later in his appearance, but the effect he produced is among the memorabilia of the age and the phenomena of mental science. Turned by the friendship of Chalmers from going to America because unsuccessful in Scotland, he became the minister of a decayed Scottish congregation in Hatton-garden, and soon attracted thither all the intellect and fashion of London. Mackintosh and Brougham first heard him, they took Canning, and the world followed, wondering at his almost unearthly eloquence and prophetic energy. A spacious and splendid church was built for him in Regent-square, but before it was finished earnestness had become fanaticism, or eccentricity madness; and he fell into neglect from the great, and ridicule by the wits. He left the Scotch communion, but with an immense personal following, and founded a sect which survives to this day. He died in 1834, in comparative obscurity—some deeming him crazed by religious phrensy, some broken-hearted by disappointment, but all who knew him saying with Thomas Carlyle—"One of the noblest natures; a man of antique heroic nature, in questionable modern garniture, which he could not wear—the freest, brotherliest, bravest, human soul mine ever came in contact with." Of another order of mind, but a good and great man, was Dr. Arnold, of Rugby, then rising in another quarter, and exerting an influence on the sons of the Church and the nobility which was sorely needed. A Liberal Churchman—liberal in theology, politics, literature—may be to some an anomaly; Arnold was anomalous, however viewed—but he was a great necessity; a benignant, guiding star in a firmament whose lights were either dim or false. If the religious element of that age seemed almost to be dissipated in the unseemly struggles of sects to change their political relations or increase their numbers, it was not altogether impotent for better ends; and we shall see it, in the freer time on which we are about to enter, impelling to higher activities, leaguings with every power for good—the largest and brightest of the streams that are for the purifying and progression of nations.

## PERIOD THE THIRD.—1830 to 1850.

### CHAPTER I.

THE SAILOR KING—THE FRENCH REVOLUTION OF 1831—ITS EFFECTS ON THE ENGLISH PEOPLE AND THE GENERAL ELECTION—DEATH OF MR. HUSKISSON—THE DUKE OF WELLINGTON'S ANTI-REFORM DECLARATION, AND DOWNFALL OF HIS MINISTRY—THE NEW MEN—THE REFORM BILL—ITS RECEPTION BY THE COMMONS AND THE PEOPLE—THE HASTY DISSOLUTION—GENERAL ELECTION—REFORM BILL RE-INTRODUCED, CARRIED BY THE COMMONS, AND THROWN OUT BY THE BISHOPS—PUBLIC EXCITEMENT—NOTTINGHAM AND BRISTOL RIOTS—PROCLAMATION AGAINST THE UNIONS—THE BILL AGAIN CARRIED THROUGH THE COMMONS—MINISTERIAL SUCCESS AND DEFEAT IN THE LORDS—THE WELLINGTON AND LYNTHURST INTERREGNUM—INTENSE EXCITEMENT THROUGHOUT THE THREE KINGDOMS—MINISTERS RECALLED—THE PEERS GIVE WAY—THE BILL BECOMES LAW.

THE new King, William the Fourth, ascended the vacant throne of his brother under some happy auspices. He enjoyed a reputation for a frank good-nature, the popular characteristic of the naval profession, which he had followed; and he and his people were mutually pleased with the soubriquet of "the Sailor King." A few years before, he had been all but dismissed from the office of Lord High Admiral by the imperious Premier; and the open-hearted, but rather uncourtly monarch, took the first opportunity of proposing in company the health of the Duke of Wellington, assuring him and the guests that there was no ill-feeling between them, as had been represented; and, some time after, he shocked Lord Eldon by beginning an apology to his lordship for having spoken harshly of him in the Catholic debates. He retained his brother's Ministers, but it was believed that his tendencies were strongly liberal. It was accounted a remarkable omission in his first message to Parliament, that no mention was made of the appointment of a regency in case of his death; for he was now sixty-six years old, and his niece, the Princess Victoria, Heiress Presumptive, but eleven. Both Houses intimated, as delicately as might be, their sense of the neglect; but they were assured that his Majesty was in good health, and Parliament was at once dissolved—according to custom on a change of sovereigns.

Another king was just landing on these shores under very different circumstances—the deposed and exiled Charles the Tenth. The first act of Prince Polignac's Ministry was the futile prosecution of M. Bertin, editor of the "Journal des Débats," for whose acquittal the high-minded judges were insulted by the King and Court, but greatly honoured by the people. The harvest of 1829 was deficient, trade was depressed, and the winter was severe; all tending to exacerbate the country and embarrass the Govern-

ment. The newspapers of Paris now dared to moot the question, what France had gained by the restoration of the Bourbons; and were consequently visited with incessant prosecutions, which the public helped them to sustain. On the 3rd March, 1830, the Chambers met; and, in reply to a speech from the King threatening an appeal from them to the loyalty of his people, called upon him to choose between his Parliament and his Ministers. The King replied that his intentions were immutable, and immediately prorogued the Chambers. An expedition to Algiers had been determined on, under the pretence of extirpating the robbers by sea and land who had a stronghold there; and it was hoped that the excitement of the enterprise would divert the attention of the French people from their domestic affairs. In May, new elections were ordered; and a bold attempt was made to influence them by a royal proclamation. The Government was beaten at all points; but they still held to their course, hoping to pacify the people by a reform budget, and excite a reaction by the news of Algerine victories. When it became evident that this would not do, the plan was changed for one of stern repression. At midnight of Sunday, July the 26th, Polignac communicated to the official "Moniteur" three ordinances, the first of which forbade the publication of journals or pamphlets without express permission from the Government; the second annulled the elections that had just taken place, on the ground that the electors had been misled; and the third altered, on the authority of the King, the number of deputies, their legal qualifications, and the method of their election. Of course Paris was astounded by the appearance of these ordinances. There was a panic on the Bourse, a complete suspension of business in the markets, and groups assembling in the streets. The journalists were the first to act, as they were the most directly menaced. Forty-four editors assembled at the office of the "National," took counsel's opinion upon the legality of the ordinances, put forth a protest and declaration of resistance, and invited the Deputies to meet on the originally appointed day (August the 3rd). The next morning (the 27th), the police went to stop the issue of the newspapers; but the doors of the offices were all fastened up, and the papers thrown out of window to the eager multitude. As not a workman could be induced to break open the doors, the police at last did it themselves, and destroyed the type and presses. But the same day, the Tribunal of Commerce decided, on the suit of an editor, that the printer was obliged to fulfil his contract, as the ordinances, being contrary to the Charter, were not binding. In the afternoon, about thirty of the Deputies met, and were presently waited upon by a deputation of citizens, saying that as the Government was posting troops about the city, insurrection was the only method open to them, and they were ready for it. The Deputies adjourned till the next day. The Ministers had had a meeting,

but only talked of proclaiming a state of siege to-morrow, and bringing in more troops—for Marshal Marmont, the commander, had not more than 4,000 reliable troops in the city. These he disposed to the best advantage but could make no provision for furnishing them with food. On the Wednesday morning, barricades appeared in all directions—a method of street-fighting that we do not read of in former disturbances; and for which the omnibus, then a novelty in Paris, seemed just fitted—the Hôtel de Ville was seized, the tri-colour flag hoisted on the highest steeples, and the alarm-bells rung. The Marshal wrote to the King at St. Cloud, assuring him resistance would be futile, but the letter seems to have been suppressed. In the afternoon he sent another letter by the hand of an aide-de-camp, who found the King at cards, the ladies listening to the sound of the distant firing, and received a verbal message to the Marshal to “concentrate his forces and put down the masses.” The wretched Marshal—distracted between a false sense of duty and a desire to stop the fruitless slaughter of soldiers and citizens—withdraw his troops to the Tuileries; as many as could get there, or had not gone over to the people. The next morning (the 29th) two of the Peers waited on Polignac, and desired him to withdraw the ordinances or resign; and, as he politely refused, urged the Marshal to arrest him, which he had resolved to do, when the Ministers set off for St. Cloud, whither they were followed by the Peers. The Court were astonished by this arrival, and at length dismayed. But not till the Marquis de Semonville warned the King of the consequences to his family of further resistance, did the old man yield, revoke the ordinances, and nominate a new Ministry. By the time this was concluded it was evening, and the Dauphin, on his way to Paris with the news, met Marmont marching out with a miserable remnant of his army, and turned back with them to St. Cloud. All the next day the Palace was unvisited—the victorious people seemed to have forgotten their vanquished King. Then the courtiers dropped off one by one, till only the Ministers and a few soldiers were left. These, at day-break of the 31st, set off for Trianon, but could find no rest there, nor anywhere. On the night of the 1st of August they heard that the Duke of Orleans had been proclaimed by the Provisional Government, Lieutenant-General of the kingdom. Then the King and Dauphin gave up for themselves all as lost, and abdicated in favour of the infant Duc de Berri. The reply to this communication was, a demand for the delivery of the crown jewels, and advice to leave France by Cherbourg. The unhappy party loitered on their way, vainly hoping to win sympathy, but they evoked only compassion or indifference. An English vessel carried them to Spithead. The British Ministry, with the approval of the foreign ambassadors, consented to receive the ex-King as Count de Ponthieu. He lived for a time at Lulworth, Dorsetshire, but as there was an apprehension—real or

feigned—that the new Government of France might attempt to carry off the young Henry the Fifth, they removed to the Holyrood Palace, in Edinburgh.—The Deputies and Parisians accepted the Duke of Orleans, on the recommendation of Lafayette, as “the best of republics,” and he was solemnly sworn on the amended Charter, with the style of King of the French; the variation from the old title signifying that he was monarch by election, not hereditary right. The 788 who had fallen on the popular side, were honoured with public burial; and crosses or pensions were given to the 4,500 wounded. The loss of the troops was estimated at much less; but a good deal of compassion was excited towards them, ill-used as they had been by those to whom they were held only by a sense of honour. The Ministers who had originated all this death and bloodshed, were arrested in different quarters, tried by special commission, and sentenced to imprisonment for life, and forfeiture of goods.

Intense was the sympathy excited in England by this sudden, though not unexpected, termination of the struggle in France between absolutism and democracy — manifold and striking the forms of its expression. Through county, city, town, and parish meetings, and all the many forms of public life which are peculiar to the Anglo-Saxon race, were sent forth addresses, and several deputations, to the victorious French people. And in celebrating this great triumph of liberty in the neighbour nation, Englishmen were stimulating themselves for a similar but more peaceful achievement. The general election came just in time to give legitimate expression to feelings that might otherwise have rent for themselves a rugged channel. Reform candidates were returned by nearly every large constituency. Mr. Brougham was placed in the proud position of member for the West Riding of Yorkshire.\* Mr. Hume was returned with Mr. Byng for the metropolitan county; and another venerable Whig — Mr. Coke, the wealthiest Commoner of England—had given him a congenial colleague in the representation of Norfolk. Devonshire and Cambridgeshire also elected reformers in defiance of the landlord interest. The result of the whole was, that of eighty-two county members, forty-seven were reformers; and out of twenty-eight city members, only three were ministerialists. It was thought by some of the Government party that the weight of these heavy blows might be mitigated by effecting a reunion with the alienated Canningites. With this view, a mutual friend took an opportunity to bring together the Duke of Wellington and Mr. Huskisson on the platform of the Liverpool and Manchester railway on the day of its opening (September 15th). Mr. Huskisson was standing by the open door of the carriage in which the Duke was seated, had cordially

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\* Mr. Brougham himself ascribes this high honour principally to the anti-slavery speech he had delivered a month or two before the dissolution of parliament.

shaken hands with him, and they were conversing, when a cry was raised to stand out of the way of a locomotive that was coming up another line of rails. It seems that Huskisson would have been safe where he stood; but nervously attempting to escape, was knocked down by the engine, had his thigh shattered, and died the same night. The political effects of this unhappy accident were the reverse of what was at first expected. The Canningites subsided into Whigs; and one of them—Lord Palmerston—has a reputation for being the most liberal of the present Whig Cabinet. On the first night of the session the Opposition put forth their augmented strength. Speaking on the address, Earl Grey urged, from revolutions abroad, and rick-burning, that new and terrible symptoms of distress or discontent, at home, the necessity of immediate reform. In reply, the Duke of Wellington uttered his memorable declaration—"I am fully convinced that the country possesses at the present moment a legislature which answers all the good purposes of legislation; and that, to a greater degree than any legislature of any age or any country whatever. I am, therefore, not only not prepared to bring forward any measure of the description alluded to by the noble lord, but I will at once declare that, as far as I am concerned, and as long as I hold any station in the Government of the country, I shall feel it my duty to resist such measures when proposed by others." The publication of this speech produced an excitement only inferior to that caused by the Polignac ordinances; and the names of the two men were more freely associated than ever. The Duke's unpopularity was greatly increased by a supposed attempt to involve the King in its consequences. The King and Queen had promised to honour the usual civic banquet on the 9th of November with their presence. A few days previous to that date, the Lord Mayor elect—Alderman Key—thought proper to write to the Home Secretary, saying, that he had reason to fear some persons would take occasion of the vast assemblage to give violent expression to their hostility to the head of the Government; and suggesting that a large military force should accompany the procession into the city. Late on the evening of the 7th, the Home Secretary wrote to say that under the circumstances their Majesties must decline the intended visit. The announcement naturally filled the metropolis with alarm, and prepared the country to hear that the capital was the centre and scene of a revolutionary conspiracy. Of course the Opposition did not fail to reproach the Ministry with having brought things to such a pass that the Sovereign could not meet the citizens of London; but they did not content themselves with speeches. On the 15th, Sir Henry Parnell moved for a select committee on the civil list; and, with the help of a few Tories, carried it by a majority of 29 (233 to 204). Sir Robert Peel was immediately challenged as to whether or not the Ministry would resign, which he

refused to answer. The next night Mr. Brougham was to have brought on a motion for parliamentary reform; but it was anticipated by the announcement that Ministers had that morning resigned office, and that Earl Grey had been sent for by the King.

The great change took by surprise even those who had been daily predicting it as inevitable. And now an indescribable eagerness to know the composition of the new Ministry took possession of the nation. As the names were read out in coffee-houses and to street groups, they were received with varied expressions of delight, satisfaction, surprise, or indifference. That Earl Grey should be Premier was the natural tribute to his years and consistency. Mr. Brougham was made Lord Chancellor because there was no other position which he could or would take; and a mingled feeling of exultation and regret was experienced at the announcement by his multitudinous admirers. Lord Durham—who as Mr. Lambton had been something more than a Whig—was perhaps next in popularity of the Ministry in which he was Lord Privy Seal; and next to him, Sir James Graham, First Lord of the Admiralty. Lord Lansdowne was President of the Council; Lord Holland, Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster; Lord Althorp, Chancellor of the Exchequer; Lord Melbourne, Home Secretary; Lord Hill, Commander-in-Chief; Lord Auckland, President of the Board of Trade; Lord John Russell, Paymaster of the Forces; and Mr. Poulett Thompson, Treasurer of the Navy. The Canningites obtained a considerable share of the appointments—Lord Palmerston being Foreign Secretary; Lord Goderich, Colonial Secretary; Mr. C. Grant, President of the Board of Control; and Mr. C. Wynne, Secretary-at-War. Mr. Denman was the Attorney-General, and Sir William Horne, Solicitor-General. Lord Anglesey returned to the government of Ireland, with Plunket for Lord Chancellor, and Mr. Stanley as Chief Secretary. Strangest of all, the anti-Catholic Duke of Richmond was Postmaster-General. All the Ministers were re-elected, with the exception of Mr. Stanley, who was opposed and beaten by Henry Hunt at Preston, as a lesson to the new men that no very moderate measures were expected from them. Nothing was done in the session, except the passing of a Regency Bill, providing that in the event of the King leaving issue, the Queen should be Regent during the minority—if otherwise, the Duchess of Kent to be Regent during the minority of her daughter, the Princess Victoria.

The Houses reassembled on the 3rd of February; and it was at once announced, that a scheme of Parliamentary reform had been agreed upon, and would be introduced as soon as the details could be completed. The 1st of March was fixed for the exposition of the project; and the interval was occupied chiefly with the presentation of vast numbers of petitions, and the discussion of the more salient. On the appointed day, Lord John



Russell—to whom the honourable task had been committed—addressed himself, amidst the profound attention of a crowded House, to his great subject. He set out with the characteristic assurance, that he stood between the bigotry which refused all reform, and the fanaticism which would be content with only one particular project. But his own “particular project” was bolder than this introduction promised; insomuch that the Tories, who had listened for some time with tolerable composure, assured that only a pacificatory concession was intended, burst forth into exclamations of incredulity and indignation as the real nature of the scheme was developed. Sixty boroughs were to be disfranchised! and without compensation to the owners. Forty-seven were thenceforth to return only one member each. Half a million voters were to be added to the constituencies of the three kingdoms, by the extension of the suffrage to the inhabitants of houses rated at £10 a-year. Seven nights of debate, in the course of which seventy orators delivered themselves, followed the motion for leave to introduce the bill; but it was carried without a division, as the Opposition had not completed its organization. Popular feeling wavered for a moment as to the acceptance of a measure which, though thus large, was much narrower than some of its authors had taught the people they had a right to receive and the power to extort; throughout the country the question was debated in the political unions; it was—perhaps more generously than wisely—resolved to accept this instalment of justice; and all the support that wide-spread organizations, countless petitions, and monster meetings, could yield, was given, with the enthusiasm of unconscious generosity, to the Whig leaders. The second reading was moved on the 21st. It was then seen that the anti-Reformers had closed their divided ranks, the old Protestant party forgetting its anger towards Wellington and Peel in the presence of a common danger, and trimmers who had given up the Church without a struggle making a desperate stand for the retention of their pocket boroughs and absentee constituents. After two nights’ debating—in which the new Irish members, Mr. Shiel and Mr. Wyse, exerted the eloquence that had been so effective in the Catholic agitation—the second reading was carried by a majority of one [302 to 301]. Ministers did not dissolve nor resign, but on the 10th moved that the House go into committee on the bill. The Opposition seized upon a weak point in the scheme—the reduction in the aggregate number of members, and moved as an amendment a resolution against that reduction. Two nights more of debating followed—in which Mr. Lytton Bulwer made his *début* as a Reformer, and Mr. Hawkins, the clever nominee of a borough-owning Tory Peer, defended the system of which he was an illustration. The amendment was carried by a majority of eight [299 to 291]. Ministers had now no alternative but to resign or dissolve—and they chose the latter. The King was for some time reluctant to dissolve;

but his consent was prompt enough when told that the Lords had agreed to meet at noon, for the purpose of considering an address to his Majesty deprecating the exercise of the royal prerogative. "Send for a hackney-coach," was the well-known expression by which he indicated his haste to vindicate the Crown right. His actual appearance in the House of Lords, robed and attended, scarcely repressed the tumult that had prevailed there on the news of his approach; and the Commons were summoned from a scene of confusion, in which even Sir Robert Peel had become hotly excited. In a brief formal speech the Houses were prorogued; and the next day the "Gazette" proclaimed an appeal from the sovereign to the people on their own behoof.

Side by side with this and similar documents, were proclamations respecting that destroying angel, the cholera, which had for some time been watched with dread on its westward progress; and apprehensions of sudden and widespread death mingled with the political excitement, which had now reached to an unparalleled height, but was to rise still higher. The dissolution was celebrated by a general illumination in London, and the populace vented their fury on the windows of the Duke of Wellington, Mr. Baring, and other prominent anti-reformers. The elections were quickly got through; and they proved, as had been expected, almost the annihilation of the Tories. Sir Edward Knatchbull, Sir R. Vyvyan, Lord Norreys, and Mr. Bankes, were among the rejected by the counties. The Lowthers only obtained one seat in the two counties which they had previously commanded; and the Duke of Newcastle could do nothing with "his own" in Newark or any part of Notts. In the towns, the non-electors made it almost impossible for a Tory candidate to show his face or get a vote. The division lists of the last session had been well conned, and scarcely one of the large constituencies returned a man whose name was on the wrong side—even the Radical Sir Robert Wilson was rejected by Southwark, for an eccentric vote against reducing the number of members—and pledges were everywhere exacted of support to "the bill, the whole bill, and nothing but the bill." The new House met on the 14th of June, and on the 24th, Lord John Russell re-introduced the bill, with some alterations in detail. At the advice of Sir Robert Peel, who, fortunately for the party, sat for a private borough, the first reading was unopposed; and he would have waived discussion upon the principle of the bill, but Sir Charles Wetherell and the majority of the Tories resolved upon trying the effect of dogged resistance. The second reading was carried by a majority of 130 [361 to 231]. On the 12th of July it was proposed to go into committee. One of the first amendments proposed would have given the representative of each of the boroughs put down for disfranchisement a right to be heard at the bar; and this was, of course, defeated by a large majority. One

night an adjournment was moved at twelve o'clock, and negatived. It was repeated, and again negatived, by about two hundred to forty. Sir Charles declared he would persist in making a score of divisions, and he succeeded in keeping Ministers and their supporters in the House till seven o'clock in the morning, when a compromise was effected. Only on one important question were Ministers defeated—the introduction of what is known as the Chandos clause; giving the county franchise to tenants-at-will paying above £50 of annual rent. Lord Althorp resisted the proposal, on the ground that these tenants-at-will could not be independent electors; and that when their subservience to the landlords was seen, an agitation for the ballot would set in. But Mr. Hume and the Radicals supported the amendment, anxious to extend the franchise to the utmost, and not displeased with the prospect of a separate agitation for the ballot; and the clause was adopted by a majority of 84. Not till the 15th of September was the bill got through committee. There was another debate on the third reading, ending in a division of 113 to 58; and three nights' more on the motion that "this bill do pass." The last division in the Commons (September the 22nd) was 345 to 236. Next day, Lord John, and a hundred of his supporters, carried up the bill to the dreaded Lords.

It was read by the Lords a first time *sub silentio*. On the 3rd of October Earl Grey moved the second reading in a speech that it was touching to listen to in the recollection that he had advocated such a measure fifty years before. With the foresight of experience—knowing that the bishops were at once the most trusted and the least trustworthy of the Opposition—he fervently exhorted the reverend bench not to bring odium upon their profession, and indignation upon themselves, by helping to reject the measure. Lord Wharncliffe led the Opposition by proposing the unusual motion, "that this bill be rejected"—meaning thereby to express the utmost detestation of it; but afterwards withdrew this for the usual negative, as more respectful to the lower House. Five successive nights did their lordships debate the question; and displayed, in doing so, an amount of talent which they only now and then suffer to manifest itself. On the fifth night, Lord Chancellor Brougham delivered one of his most masterly orations; recalling nearly every speaker on the Tory side, and covering him with sarcasm or invective; and concluding the whole by addressing to the Peers the parable of the Sibyl and her books. "As your friend," said he, "as the friend of my country, as the servant of my sovereign, as the friend of my order, I counsel you to assist in preserving the national peace, and perpetuating the national prosperity. I call on you by all you hold most dear, by all that binds every one of us to our common country—I solemnly adjure you—yea, even on my bended knees I implore you—reject not this bill." But, at six

o'clock on the morning of that day, the Peers did reject the bill, by a majority of 41 [199 to 158]. Twenty-one bishops were in the majority—it was they who had thrown out the bill, and the country did not soon forget or forgive it.

The King, the Commons, and the people, rendered Ministers in this crisis, from which they might emerge the unwilling leaders or the victims of a revolution, such hearty support as never a Government had before. The sovereign did his part, by consenting at once to prorogue Parliament, that the bill might be re-introduced; and the Commons theirs, by passing a vote of confidence by a majority of 131. While the debate was proceeding in the Lords, there had been a monster meeting of the Political Unions at Birmingham. One hundred thousand is a moderate estimate of the numbers that attended. Several Radical M.P.'s were among the speakers. The theme of every speech was, Would the Lords dare to reject the Bill? One orator declared he would pay no more taxes till the Bill passed, and the multitude unanimously pledged themselves to the same course. An address to the King, praying him to create new peers, if necessary to pass the Bill, and a vote of thanks to Lords Russell and Althorp, were part of the proceedings; and while the Peers, from Lord Chancellor Brougham to Lord Eldon, were unanimous in condemning these proceedings as illegal and unconstitutional, Lord John and his colleague were courteously responding to the thanks voted to them. As soon as the result of the division was known, the metropolis and all the leading towns seemed to resolve themselves into public meetings. The Common Council of London met at Guildhall, and the City merchants and bankers at the Mansion-house. Fifty thousand persons went up with the address from the Corporation to the King; of which advantage was taken by the vagrant mob attached to all great cities to assault Apsley House, and other Piccadilly and Park-lane mansions, unhorse the Duke of Cumberland, pelt the Marquis of Londonderry, and commit other acts of violence or insult, which, with some disturbances in the provinces, were the occasion of angry discussions in both Houses, until [on the 20th] the King came down and prorogued them. Before they re-assembled very serious mischief had been done. At Derby, window-breaking was succeeded by an assault upon the gaol for the release of the captured, and several lives were lost in the affray. Nottingham Castle was fired and sacked by a drunken mob, led by a few thieves, taking advantage of the exceeding odium then attaching to its owner, the Duke of Newcastle—who, however, recovered £21,000 from the county for the loss he had sustained, making no account of what was most deplored by others, the destruction of the fortress which Colonel Hutchinson and his heroic Lucy held for the Parliament in the civil wars. Worst of all, the entrance of Sir Charles Wetherell, the Recorder of Bristol, into that city, in judicial

pomp, was made the occasion of a riot unparalleled since the days of Lord George Gordon. A number of London vagabonds seem to have gone from place to place at this time, intending to profit at each by the prevailing excitement; and at Bristol they found the congenial conditions of intense excitement and a depraved sea-port population. Apprehensive of outbreak, the mayor and sheriffs had requested Sir Charles to forego a public entry, assuring him that their constabulary would be insufficient to keep the peace; but he refused, and directed them to apply to the Home Office for military aid. On Saturday, the 29th, he made his way, in the customary procession, amid volleys of hard words and harder stones, to the Mansion-house, in front of which a mob took its station till evening. Then they were ordered to disperse, and the Riot Act was read; but the soldiers who had been sent down were not brought into the city, and some of the constables had gone home to refresh themselves. Then stones began to clatter from without, and workmen to put up planks within; while Sir Charles made his escape in disguise—though, most unaccountably, no announcement of that important fact was made. By this time the soldiers had been called in, but their commander (Colonel Brereton) was not put in command of the city; both he and the mayor were weakly amiable men; no attempt was made to clear the streets, though the mob showed itself as cowardly as mischievous; and the troop was withdrawn. On Sunday morning, while the churches and chapels were full, a mob broke into the Mansion-house and its cellars, where many got dead drunk, and more spirited themselves up for any outrage. When the troopers again rode up, there was not, as before, a flight, but a shower of stones, and blows at the horses' legs from clubs. Still, no charge was made, though one or two men were shot by soldiers who had been struck; and the Colonel, after trying to persuade the mob to disperse, again withdrew his men. Before the next morning, three gaols had been broken into, and the prisoners liberated; the Mansion-house, the bishop's palace, the Custom House, the Excise Office, and one whole side of Queen's-square, had been destroyed by fire—their furniture burned or carried off—and the savages who had fired and robbed, roasting in the ashes, or lying in the road, drunken to utter insensibility. Then, and not before, common sense and the instinct of self-preservation came to the inhabitants. The citizens hastened to be sworn in as constables, the magistrates authorized the military to clear the streets, and, in an hour or two, complete but most mournful tranquillity was restored. About a hundred were found to have been killed or wounded. Twice as many were taken prisoners and tried by a special commission; by which eighty-five were convicted, and four executed. It was rightly resolved that the conduct of the military and magistrates should not pass unquestioned. Colonel Brereton was tried by a court-martial, and, maddened by the imputations cast

upon him, shot himself during the investigation. His second in command accused the magistrates of gross cowardice and incompetency; but the mayor was acquitted, and the prosecutions were abandoned.—There was no more serious rioting. There were disturbances at Bath, Coventry, and Leicester; but they were quickly and bloodlessly suppressed. Several of the bishops were hissed in public and others burned in effigy; but everyone agreed that they could scarcely expect other treatment from a people whom they had made personal enemies. A threatening danger was got over by the good sense of two parties—the Government and the ultra-Radicals. On the 31st of October, the London Political Union held a great meeting in Lincoln's Inn Fields; when a secession of a number of working men took place, and a separate Union was formed on the basis of universal suffrage and annual parliaments. The new association put out an address deducing these claims from the natural rights of man, and developing them to their logical result, the abolition of all hereditary distinctions and political inequalities. They also convened a monster meeting of democrats at White Conduit House, for the 7th November. The Government, feeling that after what had just taken place nothing must be risked, surrounded the city with soldiery, swore in special constables, and intimated to the leaders of the Union that they were doing an illegal and dangerous thing. They, bold in their consciousness of right intentions, requested an interview with the Home Secretary, which was granted. Lord Melbourne pointed out to them, with a conciliating politeness very shocking to the old Tories, that certain portions of their address were even treasonable; and they at once agreed to abandon the intended meeting. On the 22nd, a proclamation was issued against the Unions in general; an act which, though quite impotent, staggered the confidence of the people in the Ministers, until it was known that they were overruled in the matter.

Parliament re-assembled on the 6th of December. It was occupied for the first week with debates on the recent disturbances; in which the Ministry were of course severely censured by an Opposition to which the usual consolation of defeat was liberally allowed. On the 12th, Lord John Russell re-introduced the Bill, with such alterations in detail as were suggested by the returns of the census, which had been taken in the Spring. The second reading was carried, after a tedious debate, early on Sunday morning, by 326 to 162. The House then adjourned, for the Christmas recess, until the 17th of January, when the Bill was at once got into committee. The only important division was taken on the question of the eight additional members allotted to the metropolitan district, which was objected to as giving the capital an undue preponderance in the representation, and affirmed by a majority of only 80. On the 19th of March, when the third reading was moved, the opposition made yet another

effort—Lord Mahon moving the usual negative. In the three nights debate that ensued, there was something of solemnity in the leading speeches on either side—"on the brink of the most momentous decision to which any legislative assembly, in any country, ever came," was Lord Mahon's exordium; "the imminent peril of a struggle in which blood would be shed, and the constitution must perish," Lord John Russell perorated. The final division was 355 to 239, giving a majority of 116 for the "Bill to amend the Representation of the People in England and Wales."

It was seen immediately on the re-appearance of the Bill in the upper House, that a change had taken place there. Although strenuous exertions had been made by the anti-reformers to buttress their resolution (Lord Roden had presented to the King a petition from 230,000 Irish Protestants), it was evident that many were wavering. Several peers declined to vote against the second reading, on the ground that the Bill might be modified in committee; and the Duke of Buckingham promised, with ludicrous self-complacency, that if their lordships would throw out the Government measure, *he* would introduce one that would be satisfactory to the people. The debate extended from the night of the 9th, to the morning of the 14th of April; when, at seven o'clock, a ministerial majority of nine was announced. The minority of forty-one had been changed into this majority by the conversion of seventeen peers (five spiritual and twelve temporal), the absence of ten who had voted in the former majority, and the votes of twelve who before were absent. The Duke of Wellington entered a vehement protest on the books of the House, which was subscribed by 74 other peers, including the royal Dukes, Cumberland and Gloucester, and six of the prelates.—Great was the popular exultation, but it took the form of determination to complete the victory. During the Easter recess, meetings of unparalleled magnitude and spirit were held throughout the country. The Birmingham Union convened a meeting of all the neighbouring associations at Newhall-hill. Edinburgh had a meeting 80,000 strong, under the walls of Holyrood, from which the exiled Charles the Tenth looked on with feelings of mingled wonder and terror. London, and every great town in every part of England, had its monster meeting, and adopted very bold resolutions, petitions, and memorials. The National Union, in a meeting held in London on the 3rd of May, declared in a petition to the Lords, that if the Bill were rejected, "there was reason to expect that the payment of taxes would cease, that other obligations of society would be disregarded, and that the ultimate consequence might be the utter extinction of the privileged orders." On the day of the re-assembling of Parliament (May the 7th), the great Midland Counties' meeting came off. It numbered 150,000 men—the greatest number, probably, that had ever assembled in Great Britain. The position of the hustings, at the foot of a sloping hill, and the admirable organization adopted, rendered the whole of

the vast assemblage intelligent actors in the proceedings. Two hundred bands of music headed the processions; and more than seven hundred banners waved over the multitude. Silence was produced by sound of trumpet, and nearly every voice joined in "the Union Hymn"—the national anthem of the time, though forgotten now :—

"Lo! we answer! see, we come,  
Quick at Freedom's holy call,  
We come! we come! we come! we come!  
To do the glorious work of all:  
And hark! we raise from sea to sea  
The sacred watchword, Liberty!

God is our guide! from field, from wave,  
From plough, from anvil, and from loom,  
We come, our country's rights to save,  
And speak a tyrant faction's doom.  
And hark! we raise from sea to sea,  
The sacred watchword, Liberty!

God is our guide! no swords we draw,  
We kindle not war's battle fires;  
By union, justice, reason, law,  
We claim the birthright of our sires.  
We raise the watchword, Liberty!  
We will, we will, we will be free!"

Nor were these earnest men content with spirit-stirring song. At the invitation of one of their leaders, Mr. Salt, they uncovered their heads, and repeated, every man, the solemn words, "With unbroken faith, through every peril and privation, we here devote ourselves and our children to our country's cause."

On this same 7th of May, with an almost sublime audacity, the Lords, thus counselled and menaced, overthrew the Ministry. On the very first clause of the bill, now in committee, there was a majority of thirty-five against them. They asked for, and with difficulty obtained, a delay of three days. At a Cabinet Council held the next morning, it was determined, at last, to do what the country had been urging for six months past, but which it went to the very heart of the aristocratic Whigs to do—ask the King to create new peers. Earl Grey and Lord Chancellor Brougham went at once to Windsor, and proffered their demand. The King hesitated, lamented, it is said wept, and refused! The Ministers tendered their resignation, and the next morning a royal letter informed them that it was accepted. The Reformer King had dismissed his Reform Ministers!

It was soon known that this was the result of an intrigue between the Conservative leaders and the ladies of the Court. The poor old King was much under the influence of his wife and other feminine relatives; and while his Ministers were holding their anxious posts in London, was frequently visited by men high in the Opposition. He had been frightened into believing



that, after all, reform meant revolution; that the avowed doctrines of the suppressed London Union were the disguised sentiments of all the political associations; that the loyal and respectable part of the nation would be well satisfied with a few alterations in the representation,—and as for the rest, the Duke of Wellington would quiet them. The Duke had authorized this representation by at least one speech. He had said, in the previous October, “the people of England are quiet enough if let alone; and if not, there is a way to make them.” It is appalling to think that he who had spoken so pathetically three years before of the horrors of civil war, was now prepared to risk them; but there is no avoiding the conclusion. He was ready when called upon by Lord Lyndhurst—who was first sent for by the King—to sacrifice himself, as he said, to the service of his sovereign in this hour of desertion, “or he should have been ashamed to show his face in the streets.” On the next night to that on which it was announced that Ministers had resigned, and Lord Althorp had distinctly stated the cause, the Commons adopted, on the motion of Lord Ebrington, an address to the King, expressing deep regret at the dismissal of advisers in whom they had unabated confidence, and declaring the absolute necessity of an extensive measure of reform. This had the effect of inducing the King to stipulate with Lord Lyndhurst that the new Ministry should introduce such a measure—a condition on which the Duke would not take office; but he busied himself none the less to induce others to do so. It was the wisdom of Sir Robert Peel which averted the disastrous attempt. He steadily refused the Premiership, and without him a cabinet could not be constructed. On the 15th, when the country had been nine days without a Government, the King was informed he must submit to the humiliation of recalling Earl Grey, and consenting to the creation of peers.

Admirable was the patient self-possession of the people during these nine days. If he be a great man who is master of his enthusiasm, what shall we say of the nation that is master of its just anger? There was mourning, indignation, resolve—but no passion. Business was suspended—the streets were crowded, as in expectation of a meteor—public-house signs of the King’s Head were hung with crape, and the Queen’s effigies blackened—bells were muffled or dismally tolled. The National Union declared its sessions permanent, added 3,600 members to its roll in two days, proclaimed him a public enemy who advised a dissolution of Parliament, and petitioned the Commons to refuse supplies and put the Exchequer in Commission. The Common Council and the Livery of London adopted just the same course; and every suburb had a monster meeting, Daniel O’Connell haranguing 20,000 people at one place, Mr. Hume at another, and Colonel Evans at a third. A run upon the Bank commenced at the biddings of placards, “To stop the Duke, run for gold!” and in one week

more than a million was drawn from the Bank of England in small sums. Manchester sent up a petition signed by 25,000 persons, in four hours, praying for the stoppage of supplies; and instructed the member who presented it to say, no more taxes would be paid there till the bill became law. Birmingham was placarded with notices to the same effect. Another and still vaster meeting was held at Newhall-hill, resolved on the non-payment of taxes, on arming, marching on London, and sending round to all the Unions a declaration of inappeaseable hostility to the new Government. Throughout England, Scotland, and Ireland, there were similar scenes. From the northern and southern counties, bodies of men fifty thousand strong, were expected to encamp on Pennenden and Hampstead Heaths, while smaller bodies occupied the squares of the metropolis; and the papers actually discussed modes of street-fighting. And there was little of bravado in all this. It was believed then, and is certainly known now, that the Duke had resolved on military government. The officers were ordered to join their regiments; the troops were provided with ball cartridges; and the Scots Greys located at Birmingham were actually employed, on Sunday, the 13th of May, in grinding their sabres as they had not been ground since the eve of Waterloo. It was the next day that rumour had assigned for the Unionists to commence their march; and the Greys, it was believed by the soldiers themselves, were to arrest their march. But it had become known—known at head-quarters, as well as currently believed in the country, and openly stated in the newspapers—that neither the London police, the yeomanry, nor the soldiers, could be relied upon; and, least of all, the Scots Greys, who were to begin the bloody work. The reckless plotters who would have risked a revolution to prevent reform, could find neither statesmen to guide nor military to sustain them. All the institutions of the country, as well as the country itself, were against them.

Inexpressible was the revulsion of feeling when it was known that the Reformers had resumed office. Dismay was everywhere turned to gratitude, and sternness to rejoicing. A third Newhall-hill meeting—held on Tuesday, the 15th—was opened with a thanksgiving prayer as solemn as the vow that had been uttered fifteen days before. When the Duke gave up, the Peers did the same. A letter from St. James's Palace gave them the alternative of being swamped or withdrawing their opposition; and, to save their order, they gave up what they called the Constitution. On the night of Thursday, the 17th, the Duke of Wellington, and about a hundred Peers, left the House. A small minority held out through the consideration of the bill in committee; on the 1st of June eighteen peers registered another protest; on the 4th, the third reading was carried by 106 to 22. The Commons quickly agreed to the few alterations made by the Lords; and, on the 7th, Lords Brougham, Lansdowne, Wellesley, Grey, Holland, and

Durham, as a royal commission, constituted, by the formal consent of the sovereign, the Reform Bill the law of the land.

Separate bills had to be passed for Scotland and Ireland, but this was done with scarcely any opposition. The changes in the representation of the three kingdoms amounted in substance to this:—In England, the county constituencies were increased from 52 to 82, and their members from 94 to 159. Fifty-six boroughs, returning 111 members, having less than 2,000 inhabitants each under the new census, were disfranchised; and 30 boroughs, having a population under 4,000, were reduced from two to one representative each. The united constituency of Weymouth and Melcombe Regis was reduced from four members to two. Thus the total reduction of borough members was 143, but as it had been decided against the Ministry that the aggregate of representatives should not be lessened, these 143 were redistributed. The new metropolitan boroughs, Marylebone, Finsbury, the Tower Hamlets, and Lambeth, received two each. Other places with a population exceeding 25,000 had 14 members allotted them—new and large provincial constituencies, 63—and 21 boroughs of a population exceeding 12,000, one each. The county franchise was extended by the admission of copy-holders, lease-holders, and £50 tenants. The old corporation freemen were not deprived of their votes if they had qualified before March, 1831; and the borough franchise was extended to the occupiers of tenements worth £10 a year, with certain provisions as to rate-paying and registration. The mode of election was very greatly improved by shortening the time of polling in counties from fifteen days to two, and in all cities and boroughs to one day. The qualification of a representative remained as before. In Ireland there was no change in the number of constituencies, nor in Scotland, but a more equitable distribution of representatives. The Irish county franchise was little altered from the arrangement of 1829; but that of Scotland was much enlarged.

The most palpable feature in the new system of representation was, the preponderance given to the counties; which, with the exclusion of the ballot, soon excited suspicion and complaints. But the people believed that they had opened up a way to the obtainment of complete justice—that the middle classes were pledged, by fellowship in struggle, to aid in the enfranchisement of the millions who were left in the condition *they* had found intolerable—and so they gave themselves up to exultation and hope.

## CHAPTER II.

WHAT FRANCE GAINED BY HER SECOND REVOLUTION—BELGIUM SEPARATED FROM HOLLAND—  
INSURRECTIONARY CHANGES IN SWITZERLAND, ITALY, AND GERMANY—THE POLISH STRUGGLE—  
THE SUBLIME PORTE AND THE PASHA OF EGYPT—THE NEW KINGDOM OF GREECE—CIVIL WAR IN  
PORTUGAL AND SPAIN.

WHILE the important though miserably imperfect change in the political system of England, narrated in the last chapter, had been effecting itself, insurrection had been making the tour of continental Europe; but to leave upon its track little else than the desolation of civil war, and the monuments of royal or popular recalcitration.

France, that was the first to stir—that began and finished her revolution in a few days—profited as little as any by the movements she initiated. The first revolution turned up the soil of the country; it thoroughly destroyed, if it did not reconstruct—the second, only overturned a throne to get rid of its occupant in favour of a supplanter. The one was effected by and for the people—the other only by the people. Their utmost gain was the abolition of hereditary peerage—and that was a questionable gain; as a senate of royal creatures was substituted. They obtained an enlargement of the suffrage only from one to two hundred thousand voters—and their new monarch immediately set himself to work to reduce this miserable fraction of the population to its former proportion by the systematic corruption of patronage. He did not in return give even peace and security to the nation. Within the first three years of his reign, several republican *émeutes* had been experienced in Paris; and Lyons was the centre of a Bourbon insurrection that required Marshal Soult and an army of 26,000 men for its suppression. Within the same period, more than four hundred journalists and authors had been prosecuted; the invasions of personal liberty had been more bold and numerous than under Polignac; and a girdle of fortresses had begun to rise around Paris. The venerable Lafayette never forgave himself the error of crowning the man who had thus deceived him; and at his death—which occurred in May, 1834, in his seventy-seventh year—his funeral eulogium was not permitted.

Belgium was the next link to Paris in the electric chain. The union of the Netherlands with Holland had turned out as was foretold when it was arbitrarily effected at the partition of 1815. Subject by turns to Germany and France, the population was a mixture of both races; and neither would assimilate with the Dutch, especially under a constitution which inverted the right proportions of political power. The performance of the opera of

"Massaniello," at Brussels, was the spark that exploded the train of animosities and discontents. The King made some concessions to the insurgent populace; but in a few weeks the capital was again in the hands of the Radicals; and a large army sent to reduce them to obedience was compelled to evacuate after five days' hard fighting (Sept. 1830). On the 5th of October, Belgian independence was proclaimed, and the Prince of Orange was driven from the country; but Antwerp was bombarded by the Dutch commandant from the citadel. A National Assembly resolved upon a monarchy in preference to a republic; and the crown was offered to the Duke of Nemours, son of the King of the French. Louis Philippe declining its acceptance, to conciliate the other European powers, it was offered to Prince Leopold, the widower of our Princess Charlotte. By him it was accepted, and he shortly afterwards married a daughter of Louis Philippe. Russia and Prussia objected for some time to the recognition of the new kingdom, but ultimately were overruled; and the united force of England and France having handed over Antwerp to the Belgians, peace was restored, though negotiations on the subject occupied the diplomatists for eight or ten years longer. Belgium has certainly shown no signs of repentance for her share in these troubles; but is, probably, the best-governed state of the Continent.

The revolutionary flame spread on either hand—into Germany on the one side, into Switzerland and Italy on the other. The aristocratic canton of Berne precipitated the outbreak by endeavouring to prevent it. Zurich took the lead in granting reforms, and became the chief of a concordate of democratic states, which triumphed over an antagonistic confederation, and prevented, by the aid of France, the alienation of Basle, Neuchâtel, and Valais.—Italy was agitated at several points, and in Rome the Pope was deposed, in the summer of 1831; but Austrian intervention, with overwhelming force, frustrated once more all hopes of unity and independence.

The German revolutions commenced with Brunswick. The Duke Charles consummated a career of obstinacy and extravagance by warning his subjects he knew better than Charles the Tenth how to defend his throne; which provoked them to storm and burn his palace (September, 1830), from which he escaped by a garden. His brother William was chosen to replace him, and gave satisfaction. The ex-Duke tried to regain his throne by democratic professions and appeals, but obtained no support; and as he had before been censured by the German powers for gross libels on his late guardian, George the Fourth of England and Hanover, he was discountenanced by them now, and has since kept alive a disgraceful notoriety in London and Paris.—The King of Saxony excited the anger of his people by blind devotion to the Catholic Church, and was compelled, by successive and disastrous tumults, to make a virtual abdi-

cation in favour of his nephew, Duke Frederick.—The Elector of Hesse Cassel had a mistress whom the people drove from the capital; and he placed the reins of government in the hands of his son, that he might follow her. But the son was as tyrannical and profligate as the father; and the people had again to rise, to protect his own mother from his insults, and to obtain the constitution which the father had promised.—Hanover was governed by a Minister against whose policy the people rose, headed by some eminent professors. The insurrection was suppressed; but the Duke of Cambridge, representing his brother, the King of England, conceded the removal of the Minister, and a more liberal constitution.—In Aix-la-Chapelle, Elberfeld, Jena, Altenberg, and other towns, there were disturbances; but they led to no important result.—A peaceable meeting of German Radicals at Hamsbach, in May, 1832, was followed by the arrest of their leaders, the suppression of the liberal press and of political clubs, and the arbitrary imposition of taxes. A bold attempt on the part of the revolutionary students at Frankfort to liberate the political prisoners, and overawe the Diet, had only the effect of increasing the severity of the German Governments.

Poland suffered with patience the tortures inflicted by the Grand Duke, or arch-fiend, Constantine, up to the end of November, 1830. Some students of the military school at Warsaw had drunk to the immortal memory of Kosciuszko. Two commissions having decided that there was no ground for punishment in this, Constantine ordered, on his own authority, the flogging and imprisonment of the youths. Their comrades rose in arms, part of the garrison joined them, and then the town's-people. By the 3rd of December, the Russians had been expelled, after a frightful slaughter, from the ancient capital of Poland. Some of the nobles had presented to the Archduke a petition for the fulfilment of the constitution guaranteed in 1814; and as every thing had been done in the name of the Emperor, it was deemed possible that his wrath might not be kindled. But Marshal Klopscki was made Dictator, in case defence should be necessary. With the new year, came the tidings of an army on the march to punish the "horrid treason" of the Poles; and before its end, the Emperor had proclaimed, "Order reigns in Warsaw." The patriots—that is, the nobles and the professional classes; for it must be confessed, that the mass of the people had been reduced by serfdom to a condition of animal indifference—fought with heroic valour, against tremendous odds. For a time they were sustained by hopes of help from various quarters—from the sympathy of Hungary, Germany, France, and England; even from Austrian and Prussian jealousy of Russian aggrandisement. But Austria and Prussia were wedded to the Czar by ties stronger than their jealousy—Hungary and Germany could send only a few volunteer auxiliaries—France

and England were too far from a country that had no sea-board; even if the crafty monarch of the one had not already begun to intrigue with the Northern Powers, and the Foreign Secretary of the other to delude himself and the nation with a dashing show of liberalism. So unhappy Poland was abandoned to the merciless vengeance of the Czar Nicholas. The survivors of battle were sent to the mines of Siberia—noble ladies were married to the common soldiers of the victor's hordes—crowds of infants were transported to Russia before they had learned the name of their native land—the universities were suppressed and the libraries broken up—the Polish constitution was formally abrogated for government by "organic statutes;" and even the use of the Polish language forbidden. Some thousands of the patriots escaped over the frontier, carrying with them cholera, and other pestilential diseases, that became a new source of political trouble; the ignorant populations of Southern Europe rising in many places against the physicians and higher classes, as poisoners. Europe hastened to console, with alms, the victims of its guilty or most unhappy indolence. Large contributions were raised for them in London and Paris, and many still subsist upon public bounty. However remote from democracy may have been their sentiments at home, they have become in exile the migratory army of revolution; conspicuous in nearly every tumult of every capital, since their expatriation.

While Western and Central Europe had been thus agitated by the risings of the multitude against their hereditary masters, the East was witness to the supremacy of individual strength over traditional power. Scarcely had Turkey concluded a peace with Russia, than she fell prostrate before the powerful vassal who had alone stood between her and the Northern autocrat. Mohammed Ali took advantage of a quarrel with a brother Pasha to extend his dominion from Egypt over the whole of Syria; and, in reply to the interference of his suzerain, turned his march across the Taurus right upon Constantinople. As England and France had a common interest in preserving the integrity of the Ottoman empire, they joined with Russia in inducing Ibrahim to stop his march, and effected an arrangement which left Mahommed hereditary ruler of Egypt.

Leopold, now King of the Belgians, had been previously invited by the guardian powers of Greece to accept the throne of that new kingdom; and would probably have acceded, but for a letter from the Count Capo d'Istria, describing the state of the country in such language as to make the position of its ruler anything but desirable. It is possible that the Count was unwilling to resign his own position as President; but his unhappy fate—murdered at midday, and on the threshold of a church—within a few months of that letter, and the inability of his brother to hold the reins which he had seized, gave a melancholy confirmation to the warning. At last, Otho, the

younger son of the King of Bavaria, and a mere boy, was fixed upon for the King of Greece; and was inaugurated—under the protection of his father's troops—early in 1833.

Whilst the new-made sovereignty of classic Greece was thus hawked about, the ancient crowns of Portugal and Spain were being, or about to be, hotly fought for. When Don Pedro, the Emperor of Brazil, heard how his daughter had been defrauded of her throne, he abdicated his own in favour of his son, and came over to Europe to make war upon his usurping and perjured brother. The new Government of England—though loudly professing the doctrine of non-intervention—was disposed to take a wider interpretation than their predecessors had done of our relations to Portugal. They permitted an English officer to take the command of Don Pedro's fleet, and English soldiers openly to recruit for his army. On the 28th of June, 1832, the expedition sailed from the Azores. Oporto was easily taken possession of; but the Miguelites established a blockade, and reduced the besieged to great straits. The war was prolonged till the middle of 1834; and it was at last only by the aid of an English fleet and a Spanish army, that Don Miguel was forced to abdicate. Don Pedro had no sooner been declared by the Cortes Regent of the kingdom, than he died. His daughter was then declared of age, and married by proxy to the Duke de Leuchtenberg, the son of Eugene Beauharnois. Within a month or two the poor child was a widow, as well as an orphan, her husband dying from the effects of a cold.—On the 29th September, 1833, Ferdinand the Seventh of Spain expired in an apoplectic fit. His infant daughter, three years old, was proclaimed Queen, and the demirep Christina, Regent. The priestly and absolutist party in the country declared that as the Salic law had been established in Spain with the Bourbon dynasty, the crown devolved on the late king's brother, Don Carlos, who hastened to fraternize with that other royal uncle, Don Miguel; came over to England to enjoy the homage of aristocratic sympathizers; and returned to countenance the war which the priests had got up for him—or for the threatened estates of the Church—in the Biscayan mountains. As our own countrymen had a part—and a very sorry one—in this deplorable conflict, we shall have to recur to it hereafter.

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## CHAPTER III.

THE FIRST REFORMED PARLIAMENT—THE WORK THAT LAY BEFORE IT—LORD ALTHORP, THE WHIG FINANCIER—IRELAND, O'CONNELL, AND THE IRISH CHURCH—THE APPROPRIATION CLAUSE—THE COERCION ACT—RETIREMENT OF EARL GREY—LORD MELBOURNE, PREMIER—THE BATHOORMAC MASSACRE—THE LORD CHANCELLOR AND EARL DURHAM—MINISTERS DISMISSED—WHAT THEY HAD ACCOMPLISHED; NEGRO EMANCIPATION; THE NEW POOR-LAW; THE EAST INDIA COMPANY AND BANK OF ENGLAND CHARTERS; LEGAL REFORM; EDUCATION—IN WHAT THEY HAD FAILED; RELIGIOUS LIBERTY AND DISSENTERS' GRIEVANCES—THE BALLOT AND THE CORN LAWS—MILITARY FLOGGING AND NAVAL IMPRISONMENT—DESTRUCTION OF THE HOUSES OF PARLIAMENT BY FIRE—THE TRADE UNIONS AND THE DORCHESTER LABOURERS.

THE first general election under the Reform Act took place in January, 1830. The result was, of course, the infusion of a vast quantity of new blood into the legislature; though some of the more distinguished reformers had been carried into Parliament during the previous struggle, and were now returned, either for their former, or by larger constituencies.\* The first division took place on the choice of a Speaker. Mr. Hume and Mr. O'Connell opposed the re-election of the Tory Manners Sutton; but were outvoted by 241 to 31.

Never before had a Government the support of so large a number of representatives of so large a proportion of the nation—and never before was there such an array of works demanding to be undertaken. There was Ireland, as turbulent as in the days preceding Catholic emancipation; and the difficulty complicated by the fact that the great agitator had now lost the check formerly put upon his foul tongue and reckless conduct by morally-respectable allies in both countries. There was English pauperism, a widely-spreading fester, impossible to be let alone, and perilous to touch. There were social and sanitary questions, started by that dread power, cholera, which, though it had proved far less destructive than had been apprehended,† had revealed the sources of chronic pestilence, and touched springs of human fellow-feeling that had seemed extinct. There were the Dissenters' grievances—church-rates and tithes, exclusion from the Universities, subjection to the insult and hardship of compulsory

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\* Among the new members, or the representatives of important new constituencies, were the following:—Attwood and Scholefield, for Birmingham; Brotherton, for Salford; Buckingham, for Sheffield; Lushington and Clay, for the Tower Hamlets; Cobbett and Fielden, for Oldham; Grote, for London; Grant, for Finsbury; Plase, for South Durham county; Wilks, for Boston.

† The registered deaths from cholera in London, during the fifteen months over which its two visitations extended, were only 5,275. No statement was made for the whole country.

marriage and baptism at the parish church. There was an ominous murmur throughout the land against the Church itself, and an irresistible outcry against its flagrant corruptions. West Indian slavery stood revealed in shape and colour so abhorrent to humanity that no strength of will could resist the demand for its abolition. Parliamentary reform had exposed the necessity and foreshadowed the certainty of as radical an application to the local institutions of the country. The government and commerce of the East Indies, and the reconsideration of the banking system, admitted of no delay. And there was a knot of pertinacious men already mooting the repeal of the corn-laws and the adoption of the ballot. Not only were every one of these topics pressing in the way of circumstance, but Government itself, by the acts of its members, or as a whole, stood pledged to entertain every one of them. But a moderate fulfilment of the hopes they had excited—but a sparing use of the power at their back—and these men might bequeath a new England to their successors.

But they very soon betrayed their weak points and damaged their popularity. That they were new to the art of government, and had to depend for much on subordinates trained by and faithful to the old party, were serious disadvantages. But these disadvantages were amply allowed for, and could scarcely excuse egregious blunders in finance, or the extravagant settlement of £100,000 a-year, and two palaces, on Queen Adelaide, in the event of her widowhood. Ministers set out in February, 1831, by promising a budget founded on the scheme recently promulgated by Sir Henry Parnell; but that financier no sooner saw the budget than he disowned it, and it was withdrawn till the second session of the year. Then, the public were assured there was a surplus of nearly half a million in the Exchequer; but in his next statement, the perplexed Chancellor had to acknowledge a deficit of more than that amount—"he had forgotten the expiration of the beer duties, which made a difference of £350,000." The next budget was presented in April, 1833; and then there was really a handsome surplus, arising chiefly from the abolition of sinecures and reductions in various departments—a large proportion of which, however, had been effected by the late ministry. The financial difficulty of the year was the house-tax, against which a vigorous agitation had been raised by interested parties. Some imposing deputations to Downing-street, and a tempestuous Westminster election—at which Sir J. C. Hobhouse was rejected by his old constituents—decided Lord Althorp to expunge the obnoxious impost. The country gentlemen thought they might profit by this disposition to give way to the clamorous, and outvoted the Government on a motion for the repeal of the malt-tax; but a feint of resignation induced the House to cancel that decision. Next year—the last of Lord Althorp's tenure of office—there was a surplus of two millions, a million

and a half of which had been saved by Sir James Graham from the naval expenditure; and the estimates were reduced accordingly.

Ireland was the first great difficulty of the new men and the new epoch. The last days of Sir Henry Hardinge's administration were disturbed by a violent personal quarrel with O'Connell, provoked by his application of the epithet, "base, bloody, and brutal." Lord Anglesea fared no better than his predecessor, and the Whigs were soon bespattered as thickly as the Tories with vile phrases. They determined, however, on O'Connell's prosecution for disobedience to proclamations prohibiting his repeal meetings. When brought to trial, after much delay, he pleaded guilty; and then had the effrontery to deny, in Ireland, that he had done so. It was asserted in the House of Commons, and admitted by Mr. Secretary Stanley, that he had proposed to the Government to compromise the matter—O'Connell undertaking to drop the Repeal agitation, if they would abstain from calling him up for judgment. This, too, was denied, until proved by the written evidence of a letter from one of his sons. The agitation was not dropped—but neither were the agitators visited with the penalties they had incurred. The first royal speech to the Reform Parliament contained an allusion to Ireland which induced Mr. O'Connell to move, as an amendment, for a committee of the whole House on the address—which was refused, after a thrice-adjourned debate, by 428 to 40. Such was the lawless condition of that country, that extraordinary powers were deemed necessary by the Executive; and a "coercion bill"—as the measure conveying those powers was called—passed the House of Lords unopposed, and in the Commons contested only by O'Connell and his tail, as the thirty or forty Irish members under his influence were now denominated.—Mr. O'Connell, however, was not the only, nor by any means the greatest, of the Irish difficulties—the maintenance of the Protestant Establishment had brought the country to a condition that was well described by the Archbishop of Dublin as "a sort of chronic civil war." The collection of tithes had become extensively impossible. Many collectors were assassinated, and many more barbarously maltreated—where a seizure was not prevented by the removal of cattle and crops, it was the occasion of a pitched battle—police, yeomanry, and soldiers were tracked and set upon by ambuscades—the goods taken found no purchasers—and the clergy very generally were reduced to severe distress. To meet this latter feature of the case, a bill had been passed in 1832 to authorize advances to the amount of £80,000 to Irish clergymen who could prove inability to collect their tithes. Another act of the same session made composition for tithes compulsory and permanent. But neither the Relief Act nor the Composition Act could be made to work. More lives were lost by murder and affray; and Government was unable to collect, even at the point of the bayonet, more than

£12,000 out of £104,000 of arrears. This year (1833) it was resolved to pay the clergy nearly the whole of their arrears—amounting to upwards of a million of pounds—and alter the system so costly to the Imperial Exchequer, as well as disastrous to Ireland. The bill authorizing this expenditure was opposed by Conservatives because it charged the clergy a per centage for relieving them of the impossible task of collection, and by the Radicals because it brought the whole power of the State to aid a mere tithe-proctor; but both parties yielded to the necessity of upholding existing law. This measure was accompanied by another touching on all sides the Church itself. It provided for the establishment of a Board of Commissioners charged with the administration of ecclesiastical affairs in Ireland. It was now known that the Roman Catholics of that country numbered 6,496,060, the adherents of the Establishment 853,160, and the Protestant Dissenters 565,540; that the revenues of the Church amounted to £865,525; and that there were nearly 1,400 benefices, of which more than 200 contained less than twenty-five Protestants, or none at all, and in 157 of which there was no divine service. On these revenues it was proposed, after abolishing first-fruits, to impose a tax varying from five to fifteen per cent. Two archbishoprics out of four, and ten out of eighteen bishoprics, with sinecure deaneries, chapters, and benefices, were to be abolished. The fund thus produced was to be applied by the Commissioners to the abolition of church-cess, the augmentation of poor livings, and the erection of churches and glebe-houses. Lord Althorp concluded his exposition of this important measure with an enunciation of opinion that subsequently proved very embarrassing—namely, that any additional yield from ecclesiastical estates under improved management should be appropriated to education, or other secular purposes. The scheme gave great alarm to the zealous friends of Protestantism by the principle it involved; but fell far short of satisfying the earnest Church reformers of either country. After much delay, and with the loss of the appropriation clause, it passed the lower House by a majority of nearly three to one. The Lords threatened a fatal opposition, but contented themselves with further mutilations and a vigorous show of protests. The Repeal agitation went on as furiously as ever during the recess; and in the following April (1834) was formally brought upon the floor of the House of Commons, but obtained only 38 out of 561 votes. The radical Church reformers determined to re-assert the appropriation principle; and Mr. (now Sir Henry) Ward gave notice of a motion to that effect. It could then be no longer concealed that a serious division existed in the Cabinet. Mr. Stanley had in the preceding year become Colonial Secretary, in the place of Lord Goderich, who had been made Earl of Ripon and Lord Privy Seal; Mr. Littleton taking the uneasy post of Irish Secretary. The more liberal section

of the Ministry proposed to meet Mr. Ward's motion with the promise of a commission of inquiry into the temporalities and spiritual services of the Irish Church ; but as this implied a right of control by the State over ecclesiastical property, the High Churchmen in the Cabinet would not agree to it. On the night that Mr. Ward brought on his motion, Mr. Stanley and Sir James Graham resigned, and were quickly followed by the Duke of Richmond and the Earl of Ripon. Lord Althorp obtained a week's postponement of the debate. In that interval, Lord Auckland replaced Sir James Graham, Mr. Spring Rice succeeded Mr. Stanley, the Marquis of Conyngham went to the Post-office, and the Earl of Carlisle became Privy Seal. Meanwhile, the Conservative party had been active. The King's birth-day levee fell within the week ; and, in reply to an address from the Irish prelates and clergy, the almost childish monarch declared, with tears and solemn words, that he would be resolute in defence of the Church as it became a man in his sixty-ninth year ; that the Establishments of both countries should be maintained unimpaired, that he might leave the world with a good conscience. Of course the utmost was made of this foolish speech by the party to whom it was addressed. But Ministers, instead of resigning, used it to frighten the Liberal party with the prospect of a Court and Church Government ; and, accordingly, Mr. Ward was outvoted by 398 to 120. Mr. O'Connell succeeded, however, in introducing into the resuscitated Tithe Bill an affirmation of the principle, that the surplus of ecclesiastical property should be expended in works of charity and education. But another trouble was at hand. The coercion act of 1832 expired this year, and the Home Government thought its powers could not be dispensed with. They therefore proposed to renew it. But the Marquis of Wellesley—now Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland—and the liberal-minded Secretary, Mr. Littleton, desired at least its mitigation ; as did, also, Mr. Spring Rice, Lord Durham, and other Whig-Radical members of the Administration. Mr. Littleton unfortunately consulted Mr. O'Connell on the subject, without the knowledge of his chiefs. This was represented, in the House of Lords, as a negotiation with the agitator, which Earl Grey indignantly denied ; and when it was found that the Government would not abide by Mr. Littleton's arrangement, O'Connell complained violently of broken faith. The Secretary tendered his resignation ; but the Ministry felt that it would not be easy to refill such an unwelcome post. Lord Althorp, however, had determined on resigning, rather than be a party to the carrying of a bill which he was known to dislike—and Earl Grey, believing that he could neither govern the Commons without Lord Althorp, nor Ireland without the coercion act, decided on retiring from office and public life. On the 9th of July, in the seventy-first year of his age, he took leave of his sovereign and of his peers. The Duke of Wellington followed those

valedictory words with a speech so similar in spirit and tone to that in which Lord Grey had himself assailed Canning, that it suggested to all the Divine warning, "With what judgment ye judge, ye shall be judged; and with what measure ye mete, it shall be measured to you again."—The Ministry was easily reconstructed—Lord Melbourne taking the premiership, and Viscount Duncannon succeeding to the Home Office. The coercion bill was reintroduced in a mitigated form, and carried without other opposition than that of the Tory Lords. With the Irish Tithe Bill, Government was less successful; the Lords threw it out by a majority of 67 to 311

The King closed the session with a cheerful speech; but the recess was pregnant with troubles. In Ireland, it produced the "Rathcormac massacre"—the killing of thirteen men in resistance to the collection of tithes, in the actual presence of Archdeacon Ryder. — Lord-Chancellor Brougham went to recreate himself in Scotland, and in that journey said many things very embarrassing to his colleagues, however amusing to the public. A banquet was given (September the 15th) at Edinburgh to the late Premier, at which Lord Brougham, appearing in a new character, made pointed reference to Lord Durham as a fretfully impatient reformer. To this the Earl replied in words that were greatly applauded. In a few days, Brougham had assailed his colleague, by pen and speech, with intolerable impeachments of broken faith, and challenged him to fight out the quarrel in the House of Lords. Earl Grey interposed to vindicate the honour of his son-in-law, and the King to prevent the word-duel. Before the re-assembling of Parliament, Ministers had received their dismissal. Earl Spencer dying, Lord Althorp was necessitated to resign the Chancellorship of the Exchequer; and when the Premier went to lay before the King his new arrangements, he was abruptly informed that the further services of the party were declined.

Thus ignominiously perished the first Reform Ministry. What had they accomplished—in what had they failed?

They had stricken all but the final blow at West Indian slavery. To them at least belongs the honour of having guided the blow which natural circumstances and public sentiment combined to level at the accursed system. The regulations enjoined by successive Orders in Council for the amelioration of the negro lot, had only served to irritate the planters to resentment, and awaken the slaves to a suspicion that their full rights were only withheld from them by the local powers. The former talked of refusing to pay taxes—the latter, in the island of Jamaica, in December, 1831, broke out into a formidable insurrection. The West Indian party at home claimed from the Imperial Government compensation for the losses thereby sustained—the abolitionists replied with a demand, a thousand times as loud, for the speedy emancipation of the negroes. The Lord Chancellor presented an abolitionist petition

signed by 135,000 inhabitants of the metropolis; and Mr. T. Fowell Buxton moved in the Commons for a select committee on the means of its accomplishment. Lord Althorp proposed, as an amendment, only to confirm the resolutions of 1823; which was carried by 163 to 90. One hundred thousand pounds had been put down for the relief of the islands that had suffered from recent hurricanes—it was now raised to one million, on account of the Jamaica insurrection. But so rapid and energetic were the movements of the abolitionists, that by the 14th of May, 1833, Ministers confessed they were unable further to resist the demand for emancipation. They still clung, however, to their theory of gradually preparing the slaves for the exercise of freedom; and insisted on compensating the masters. They proposed that all negro children born after a certain day, and all then under six years of age, should be free; that all others should be considered free, but should be compelled to labour for their present owners, under certain conditions—the field-slaves for twelve years, the house-slaves for seven; that Parliament provide magistrates and teachers for the apprenticed negroes; and that £15,000,000 be advanced to the planters as a loan. Mr. Buxton and Lord Howick, supported by strong public demonstrations, succeeded in reducing the term of apprenticeship from twelve and seven, to seven and five years; but the planters' party succeeded in converting the loan of fifteen millions into a gift of twenty. To the principle of compensation there were many objectors, and to the amount, many more—but this enormous sum was voted by large majorities; and the acquiescence of the people, even of the classes that complained of every fringe on the chair of state, was an act of national generosity as remarkable as any in the history of the world.—The 1st of August, 1834, was the appointed day of legal emancipation. The planters of Antigua nobly and wisely made it the day of actual liberation, declining the term of apprenticeship. The Governor of Jamaica (the Marquis of Sligo) attempted in vain to stimulate the legislature of that island to a similar act, by the manumission of his own slaves. But throughout the islands, the negroes gave the highest proof of their fitness for freedom by the religious self-possession with which they celebrated its advent. The first hour of the 1st of August beheld them on their knees in the missionary chapels, and the dawn was saluted with the mutual congratulations of thousands of families, now their own property, and with rude songs of thanksgiving to the God whose hand they had been taught to see in this loosing of their fetters.

The Grey Ministry had also grappled with, if not overthrown, the devouring dragon of pauperism. Upon the just and humane principle that every one born in the land has a right to subsistence from it—the able-bodied by labour, the disabled by relief—a monstrous system of injustice and cruelty had grown up. An act passed in the thirty-sixth year of the reign of George the Third, had engrafted upon the old statute of Elizabeth

the absurd principle that relief should be given to the poor to such an amount, and in such a manner, as to ensure their comfort. Magistrates and overseers had, therefore, power to distribute the proceeds of the poor-rates at the dwellings of the claimants, and without the application of any test of necessity. It was impossible that such a provision should not operate up to the very limits of endurance; and when the amount thus levied reached the sum of seven millions in one year, that boundary was visible. It was then no question of party politics, but a question of social existence—the question whether the idle should be permitted to eat up altogether the substance that was barely sufficient for the industrious. The non-producers of all ranks naturally sympathise—and now, country justices and fund-holding spinsters were loud in declamation against the impious cruelty of diminishing the patrimony of the poor. The Whigs only did what any Government must have done in girding themselves to wrestle with the evil. But they set about it in a manner that soon became known as a characteristic of the party—the appointment of a Commission of Inquiry. The Commission consisted of nine persons, including the Bishops of London and Chester, with Mr. Edwin Chadwick for secretary. The investigation was thorough and skilful. The reports disclosed a mass of appalling facts, drawn from every parish in England and Wales. The money cost of the system, heavy as it was, was shown to be of subordinate importance—that the sources of wealth, capital and labour, were being destroyed by the pressure upon employers and the demoralization of labourers. Farmers had their land impoverished by the necessity they were under of taking from the parish officer gangs of men who, sure of payment from the rates, could not be made to work. Shopkeepers could not get rid of their wares, because the poor-rate was a second rent, and those who should be their best customers had food and fuel from the overseer's table. Labourers were demoralized by the degrading consciousness that the best could scarcely make more than the worst—that if he married, the parish might give him a bonus with his wife; if he got children, legitimate or illegitimate, there was a shilling or eighteen-pence a week for each. So crushing had the system become, that in many parishes the land had been allowed to go untilled. And there was but one hopeful fact to set off against all this—that in some few parishes, a sagacious and spirited public had redeemed the administration of the law from perversion, and themselves from ruin. The Commission was appointed in the early part of 1832—in April, 1834, the Poor-law Amendment Bill was introduced by Lord Althorp. As that bill became law with little alteration, and its main provisions are still in force, it is unnecessary to explain them here—its merits and defects we shall discover in tracing its operation. The opposition to it proceeded chiefly from the parties we have already indicated, headed by a newspaper which is believed



seldom to act without a concealed motive—but the bill passed through its several stages by large majorities, and received the royal assent at the close of the session.—Partly in consequence of the Poor-law inquiry, and as an important supplement to it, Mr. Sadler and Lord Ashley obtained a commission to investigate the condition of the children employed in silk and cotton factories. The report of the Commissioners dispelled some unjust and exaggerated notions, but amply justified the interference of the Legislature; and in the session of 1833 was passed the first of a series of acts for the protection and instruction of the juvenile operatives.

Two other achievements of Earl Grey's Ministry may be recorded in as many sentences. They took from the East India Company their commercial monopoly, and renewed their territorial power for twenty years from April, 1834.—The charter of the Bank of England was renewed, on the recommendation of a secret committee, but for reasons that had ample publicity. The new contract was to be terminable at any time upon twelve months' notice after the 1st of August, 1855, or upon the repayment of eleven millions owing by the country to the Bank; and the Company were required thenceforth to publish weekly statements of their stock of bullion and amount of notes in circulation.

To Lord-Chancellor Brougham belongs the almost exclusive credit of two important projects of law reform. As soon as he was in office, he revived, in the House of Lords, a measure he had before presented to the Commons—a bill for establishing courts of local jurisdiction; in other words, for the cheap administration of justice. This was rejected by the Peers; but in 1833, the noble lord carried a measure for abolishing thirteen offices in the Court of Chancery, and otherwise effecting a saving of £70,000—to the melancholy horror of his predecessor, Eldon.—For Education he could do nothing personally; but his colleagues did what was regarded by themselves, and almost universally, as the small beginning of a great good—namely, the procuring, in 1833, of a grant of £20,000 for the promotion of education, through the National and the British and Foreign School Societies.

In what had they failed? Chiefly in their dealings with the great principle of religious liberty, which had figured so conspicuously in the manifestoes of the party while out of office, or struggling to keep it. It is true they did not, with one or two exceptions, profess those broad doctrines to which the Dissenting body, the hereditary guardians of ecclesiastical freedom, were traditionally pledged, and to which they have now advanced as a ground of action. Grey and Russell were earnest and eloquent in the advocacy of what they termed, and of what generally passed for, religious liberty, but which is, indeed, only toleration—they were even careful to avow themselves the faithful sons of the Established Church; the bare existence

of which is plainly incompatible with the full enjoyment of civil rights irrespective of religious opinions. When they came to deal, even from the heights of office, with what were called Dissenters' grievances, they found themselves powerless in comparison with High Churchmen, gave up the contest, and have not renewed it to this day.—First, there was exclusion from the Universities—the absolute exclusion from Oxford of all who could not subscribe to the Thirty-nine Articles, and from University honours at Cambridge. The demand was, as a matter of civil right, that these religious tests be abolished, and the national schools thrown open to men of all creeds. In this demand the Ministry acquiesced, as did also a party in the University of Cambridge. From these latter, a tentative petition, signed by sixty-three resident members, praying for the abolition of religious tests to candidates for degrees in arts, law, and medicine, was presented to Parliament by Earl Grey and Mr. Spring Rice, in March, 1834. But Government left to private members the introduction of a bill to give effect to this petition. It was taken in hand by Colonel Williams and Mr. Wood. But before they could bring on a debate, the two Universities had brought all their influence to bear upon Parliament, and provoked a fierce excitement in politico-religious circles. Ministers supported the bill, though reluctantly, and the second and third readings were carried by large majorities; but in the Lords it was thrown out by 187 to 85; and there the matter was allowed to rest.—Secondly, as to church-rates and tithes. The Dissenting members—of whom there were several—introduced a motion on church-rates early in 1834; but were induced to withdraw it by the promise of a Government plan. In April, Lord Althorp brought forward that scheme. It consisted simply of the substitution of a grant of £250,000 from the land-tax for the rate; that sum to be applied as Parliament should direct in maintaining the fabrics of the Church. Neither Dissenters nor economists could consent to this pacificatory juggle; and though the resolution enunciating the proposition was carried by 256 against 140, the scheme was dropped. Lord Althorp was equally unfortunate in attempting a measure for the commutation of tithes. Affirming, as an essential principle, that tithes belonged to the Church, he proposed only to alter the method of collection. But while Nonconformists denied the principle, both clergy and landlords disliked the details, of the scheme; and it, too, was abandoned.—Thirdly, as to Dissenting marriages. Lord John Russell was as unsuccessful in this particular, as Lord Althorp with the former two. He brought in a bill which permitted the celebration of marriage in Dissenting chapels, but required the publication of banns at the parish church. As this stamped all other denominations with the brand of inferiority to the Episcopal sect, self-respect forbade them to accept the relief to their feelings which the per-

mission to marry in their own way undoubtedly afforded; for distressing scenes had become quite frequent at the hymeneal altar—the wedding-party sometimes giving public notice that they appeared there under protest; the officiating clergyman sometimes dwelling with insulting emphasis on offensive passages in the service. The bill was, therefore, actively opposed, instead of being gratefully supported; and was, consequently, relinquished.—The exclusion of Jews from Parliament was something more than a “Dissenting grievance”—an anomaly perpetrated by accident, and repudiated by liberal politicians of all shades. Mr. Grant carried a bill through the Commons in 1833 for the rectification of this injustice; but the Government who had so recently humbled the Lords in the dust, permitted them to throw out the measure. In the same session, Mr. Pease, a Quaker, was allowed to take his seat on making affirmation of allegiance, in lieu of swearing.—Indirectly, and unintentionally, however, the Whigs had already proved of great service to the party they had thus disappointed. In 1833, Mr. Faithfull, member for Brighton, had only a solitary supporter—Mr. Cobbett—on bringing forward a motion declaring that Church revenues were derived from national property, and proposing their partial diversion. The next year, a deputation of Nottingham Dissenters—headed by Mr. William Howitt—told the perplexed Premier that a separation of the Church from the State was “precisely what they desired.” “Voluntary Church Societies” began about the same time to make their appearance in Scotland, the national Church of that country beginning to be distracted by the dispute that ultimately broke it up. And Dissenters in England were learning both “to do and to suffer.” We read first, about this time, of conscientious recusants going to prison for non-payment of church-rates; and find on the records of the House numerous petitions for the abolition of the spiritual courts, and inquiries into Church revenues. To appease these demands, Ministers consented, in 1834, to the appointment of an Ecclesiastical Commission. Preparatory thereto, they issued a circular to churchwardens requiring certain particulars relative to their respective parishes. The result was an amusing illustration of the fate of the Whigs throughout their dealings with the Church. Some took no notice of the missive; others declined to comply; and a third class took to lecturing the secular minister for intruding upon the sacred precincts. But the Government thus buffeted could scarcely expect belief in their sincerity, when they were known to surpass their predecessors in the profligacy of their ecclesiastical patronage. Earl Grey bestowed a stall-at Westminster on a relative of his, already Bishop of Hereford, and an Irish deanery on a political dependent, previously in enjoyment of a living worth £1,200 a-year; and did not scruple to defend these appointments, with an air of innocent surprise that any one should object.

The doctrine of the finality of the Reform Act, the Whigs had already set up. Several members of the Ministry, and some of its ablest supporters, were pledged to make the ballot a rider to that act; but, year after year, on self-destructive excuses, Mr. Grote's motion to that effect was voted down.—Three members of the Ministry supported a motion for a fixed duty on corn; but it was rejected by two to one.—Mr. Hume made annual attempts to abolish military flogging; but though, in 1833, he was within eleven of a majority in a large House, and though a private of the Scots Greys had been flogged, really, it was believed, for having written to a newspaper in the heat of the Reform agitation, nothing was done.—Mr. Buckingham failed only by five votes, to initiate a better system than that of impressment for the supply of seamen.

One other of Mr. Hume's many motions was carried for him by an unwelcome agency. He had repeatedly urged the Commons to provide for their own better accommodation, but in vain. In the evening of the 16th of October, 1834, a fire broke out, from the overheating of the stoves, which, in a few hours, left standing only the walls of the Houses of Parliament. Westminster Hall and the Law Courts were saved only by plentiful effusions of water. The Commons' Library, and some valuable pieces of antiquity, were the most deplorable part of the loss.

One more incident of the Reform Ministry must be mentioned.—Trade Unions had become as formidable in 1834 as they were ten years previously; for the fashion had extended to the ignorant agricultural labourers. Six Dorsetshire peasants having been detected in administering oaths to their confraternity, it was determined to strike, through them, at the whole system. They were, therefore, indicted under an obsolete statute, hastily tried, and a verdict being obtained against them, hurried off to undergo their sentence of seven years' transportation. Government had better have obtained a new law than have thus stretched an old one. The convicts knew that they had been punished really for one offence, nominally for another. The whole mass of working-men knew this too, and resolved on interference in their behalf. The London Unionists convened a great meeting for Monday, April the 21st, in Copenhagen-fields, to support a memorial for the recall of the labourers. But a knot of foolish men gave occasion to surmise that an attack on London was seriously intended, and the Government made prompt and ample, though quiet, preparations accordingly. A memorial was to be presented the same day to Lord Melbourne, at the Home Office; and it was carried up by a procession 30,000 strong. Lord Melbourne appeared at a window, but declined to receive a deputation thus attended, as an attempt to intimidate him. The procession quietly filed off to Kensington Common, as quietly dispersed, and London again breathed freely. But the people were right, and when their petition was presented in a more becoming manner,

it was favourably received, and a free pardon sent out to the Dorchester labourers. The conduct of the Government throughout the affair was both courageous and humane, though not without an extra-judicial air;—personally, the new men were at least an improvement on Sidmouth and Castlereagh.

## CHAPTER IV.

ANOTHER WELLINGTON INTERREGNUM—SIR ROBERT PEELE, PREMIER—WHAT HE PROPOSED, WHAT HE ATTEMPTED, AND HOW HE WAS FRUSTRATED—THE WHIGS RE-CALLED—MUNICIPAL REFORM—THE CHURCH IN ENGLAND AND IRELAND—REGISTRATION OF MARRIAGES ACT—FINANCE: THE NEWSPAPER-STAMP—THE RADICAL REFORMERS AND THE HOUSE OF LORDS—DETECTION OF THE GREAT ORANGE CONSPIRACY—CHURCH-RATES AND CHURCH LANDS—IRISH MUNICIPAL REFORM—CIVIL AND CRIMINAL LAW AMENDMENT—IRISH POOR-LAW BILL—DEATH OF THE KING—HIS CHARACTER WITH STATESMEN AND THE PEOPLE.

THE Duke of Wellington was naturally the King's resort, now that he had got rid of his distrusted Ministers; and probably the Duke was not much surprised at their dismissal or his own summons. But there was one man alike essential to a Conservative Government, and perfectly innocent of intrigues for its establishment—namely, Sir Robert Peel. He had betaken himself, during the recess, to Italy, and was fetched thence to take the Premiership. Some time must elapse before his arrival; and the Duke of Wellington undertook, with the assistance of Lord Lyndhurst, to conduct the affairs of the country during that interval. His Grace was, therefore, sworn in as First Lord of the Treasury and Secretary of State; and calmly fulfilled his plural functions, despite the ridicule and even menaces of the displaced Whigs.

By the end of December, Sir Robert Peel had arrived, and quickly completed his arrangements. He combined in himself the offices of Premier and Chancellor of the Exchequer. Lord Lyndhurst, of course, was Chancellor; Sir James Scarlett succeeding him as Chief Baron of the Exchequer, with the title of Lord Abinger. The Earl of Rosslyn became President of the Council, and Lord Wharnccliffe took the Privy Seal. The Duke of Wellington went to the Foreign, Mr. Goulbourn to the Home, and Lord Aberdeen to the Colonial, offices. Among the other appointments were those of Mr. C. Wynne and Mr. Herries. Mr. F. Pollock and Mr. W. Follett, were made Attorney and Solicitor-General. The Earl of Harrington went to Ireland as Lord-Lieutenant, with Sir E. Sugden as Chancellor, and Sir H. Hardinge as Chief Secretary.

It was easy to find fault with these appointments—especially the latter. But the fault-finders were checked by the appearance of a Letter to the Electors of Tamworth, from their illustrious representative. Through that medium, the new Premier informed the country of his purposes, and bespoke its candour. The document was remarkable in itself, and as the first of a remarkable series. Sir Robert sets out by declaring himself a reformer of “proved abuses,” and points, in confirmation, to his dealings with the currency, criminal law, and Roman Catholic grievances. The Reform Act he describes as “a final and irrevocable settlement—a settlement which no friend to the peace and welfare of the country would attempt to disturb.” Enumerating the questions which had engaged the attention of the reformed Parliament, he shows that he is at one, on many points, with the avowedly Reform party—and for the rest, he was open to new light. The conclusion of the address was in a deprecatory and almost desponding tone :—“I enter upon the arduous duties assigned to me with the deepest sense of the responsibility they involve, with great distrust of my own qualifications for their adequate discharge, but, at the same time, with a resolution to persevere which nothing could inspire but the strong impulse of public duty, the consciousness of upright motives, and the firm belief that the people of this country will so far maintain the prerogatives of the King as to give to the Ministers of his choice, not an implicit confidence, but a fair trial.”

That the country might formally pronounce on this manifesto, Parliament was dissolved within a few weeks of the time appointed for its reassembling. In the elections only two parties were visible—the Conservatives and Liberals. There were not a few earnest and even ultra Reformers who had the sagacity to foresee that if Sir Robert Peel meant what he said, he was more likely to work out their views than a timid and divided Ministry; but they were not numerous in the classes that are admitted to the polling-booth. The Conservatives worked with the high-wrought zeal of hope—the Liberals, with the energy of shame. The former gained in the counties; the latter, in the small boroughs—a tolerable indication of the unavowed auxiliaries employed on either side, landlord influence and money power. It was calculated, from the total returns, that the Whigs and Whig-Radicals would out-number avowed Ministerialists by one hundred to one hundred and thirty.

The Liberals lost no time in proving their strength. On the 19th of February the Commons proceeded to the choice of the Speaker; and this time the Whigs joined with their Radical allies in objecting to Sir C. Mannors Sutton. Mr. Abercrombie was chosen by a majority of ten [316 to 306]; and Sir Charles was rewarded for his long services with the title of Viscount Canterbury.

The King's speech deplored the depression of agriculture, in contrast with other interests; recommended a reduction of the burdens on land; announced the appointment of the Church and Municipal Corporation Commissions; and requested the attention of Parliament to the ecclesiastical grievances of the three kingdoms.

The Address in the Lords' was carried without a division, but not without an animated debate. Lords Melbourne and Brougham asked, with characteristic differences of expression, why the late Ministry had been dismissed if the condition of the country was such as the royal speech described it? and why the Duke of Wellington had presumed to constitute himself a provisional government? The Duke defended himself by appeals to precedent and to the sacredness of the prerogative;—his supporters dwelt upon the incidents of the recess, and especially upon what they called the indelicacy of a statement, attributed to Lord Brougham, which was made in a morning paper, as to the dismissal of Ministers, that "the Queen had done it all." In the Commons, Lord Morpeth moved an amendment expressing regret at the dissolution of Parliament; which was ultimately carried by a majority of seven [316 to 309].

The Premier was at once challenged to resign; and, declining, was asked by no less a person than Lord John Russell, whether it was true that he intended to again dissolve Parliament, and, in case the Mutiny Bill had not passed, to keep up the army on the responsibility of the Government? to such absurd suspicions or mean devices did the impatience of the Opposition push them.—The third important division of the session was taken on a motion by the Marquis of Chandos for the repeal of the malt duty; which was resisted by the leaders of both parties, and defeated by a majority of 168.—In the next subject of discussion the Ministry were in an unfortunate position. Among their Tory hangers-on was the Marquis of Londonderry, whose claims it had been resolved to appease by appointing him to the embassy at St. Petersburg. As his lordship had made himself a conspicuous exception to the national sympathy with the Polish cause, and was chivalrous in devotion to despots in general, the appointment was deemed a fair subject for the interference of Parliament, though closely appertaining to the Crown. Sir Robert Peel defended the appointment on the ground of the former services of the Marquis, whose retirement from the Austrian embassy he showed to have been regretted by Mr. Canning. The motion brought forward by the Opposition was withdrawn, because premature; but the debate effected its object, Lord Londonderry declining the appointment.

About the middle of March, the Lord Chancellor presented the report of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners,\* the Attorney-General gave notice of two

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\* The Commission consisted of the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Lord High Chancellor, the Archbishop of York, the Earl of Harrowby, the Bishops of London, Lincoln, and Gloucester,

bills for amending Church discipline, Sir Henry Hardinge of an Irish Tithe scheme, and the Premier of two measures—one for the relief of Dissenters, by providing for the civil registration of births, marriages, and deaths; the other, for the commutation of tithes in England. The governmental resources of the Minister seemed inexhaustible—his energy and self-control invincible. Only one of the several defeats he sustained can be looked upon as deserved—that on the University of London Charter. Failing of obtaining the admission of Dissenters to Oxford and Cambridge, the friends of liberal education now moved for an address to the King, praying him to empower the London University to grant degrees, except in medicine and divinity. The Ministry proposed rather an obstructive than a negative amendment, which was rejected by 246 to 136. Still Sir Robert did not give way—he had resolved that the country should have the projects and spirit of his administration fairly before it. The Irish Tithe Bill was mutually accepted as the ground of decisive battle. The bill itself the Liberal party did not much quarrel with—Lord John Russell claimed it as identical in principle with that of the late Ministry; Mr. O'Connell pointed out that it was better, inasmuch as the bill of last session proposed to give the landlords two-fifths of the tithes, securing to the clergy seventy-seven and a half per cent. of their legal income, and charging seventeen and a half per cent. of the whole on the consolidated fund, while this measure would give the landlords only one-fourth of the amount, secure the clergy only seventy-five per cent., and devolve no charge on the imperial exchequer. On the 30th of March, Lord John Russell brought forward the motion on which the existence of the Ministry was to be staked—that the House resolve itself into a committee to consider the temporalities of the Church of Ireland. After a four nights' debate, this was carried by a majority of 33 [322 to 289]. On the evening of the same day the House went into committee, and Lord John moved, "That it is the opinion of this committee that any surplus which may remain after fully providing for the spiritual instruction of the members of the Established Church in Ireland, ought to be applied to the general education of all classes of Christians." On the 6th of April, the debate was concluded, and the resolution carried by 25 votes [262 against 237]. In a third motion, the Whig leader de-

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the Right Honourable Sir Robert Peel, H. Goulburn, C. W. W. Wyane, H. Hobhouse, and Sir Herbert Jenner. The *Gazette* announcing their appointment described them to be commissioners for considering the state of the several dioceses in England and Wales with reference to the amount of their revenues, to the more equal distribution of episcopal duties, and to the prevention of the necessity of attaching by *sommendam* to bishoprics, benefices with the cure of souls; for considering the state of the several cathedral and collegiate churches within the same, with a view to the suggestion of measures for rendering them most conducive to the efficacy of the Established Church; also for devising the best mode of providing for the cure of souls, with special reference to the residence of the clergy on their respective benefices.



clared that "no measure on the subject of tithes in Ireland can lead to a satisfactory and final adjustment, which does not embody the principle contained in the foregoing resolution"—which the House adopted, after another long debate, by 285 to 258.—In all these divisions, it was the Irish members who had given the Opposition a majority.

The next day [April the 8th], Sir Robert Peel informed the House that he and his colleagues had resigned their offices. The speech with which he followed that announcement is one of the memorabilia of his long career. He avowed that it was with great reluctance that he retired, because he believed that, possessing the confidence of the King, and supported by a large and morally powerful proportion of the people, he could have speedily settled some important questions now again at the mercy of accident. In dignified and emphatic terms he vindicated his retention of office thus long, and his abandonment of it now. These were his concluding words:—"The whole of my political life has been spent in the House of Commons—the remainder of it will be spent in the House of Commons and, whatever may be the conflicts of parties, I, for one, shall always wish, whether in a majority or in a minority, to stand well with the House of Commons. Under no circumstances whatever, under the pressure of no difficulties, under the influence of no temptation, will I ever advise the Crown to reign that great source of moral strength which consists in a strict adherence to the practice, to the principles, to the spirit, to the letter, of the constitution. I am confident that in that adherence will be found the surest safeguard against any impending or eventual danger; and it is because I entertain that conviction, that I, in conformity with the opinions of my colleagues, consider that a government ought not to persist in carrying on public affairs after the sense of the House has been fully and deliberately expressed, in opposition to the opinion of a majority of the House of Commons. It is because I have that conviction deeply rooted in my mind, and regretting, as I most deeply do regret, the necessity which has compelled me to abandon his Majesty's service at the present moment, that, upon the balance of public considerations, I feel that the course which I have now taken is more likely to sustain the character of public men, and to promote the permanent interests of the country, than if I had longer persevered in what I believe would have proved a fruitless attempt to conduct as a Minister the King's service, in defiance of that opposition which has hitherto obstructed the satisfactory progress of public business." Loud and protracted cheering, from all parts of the House, it is recorded, followed the expression of these sentiments. Perhaps some of the victors already began to doubt whether they had not succeeded too well;—could they have looked but a little way into the future, and have seen the surrender by their now elated leaders of the "principle" that was supposed

to have triumphed in the humiliation of the statesman; could they have looked further on, to the culmination of that "political life;" and further yet, to the destruction even of the man beneath the hoofs of his horse—how would they have shrunk from mistaking for convictions of public duty the blind impulses of faction, or of mingling with the discharge of that duty one drop of party rancour!

On the retirement of Sir Robert Peel, the King tried to tempt Earl Grey back to public life, but was advised by the venerable nobleman to recall Lord Melbourne—to whom his Majesty, with ill taste, though kindly feeling, had offered an Earldom and the Garter, as a compensation for his abrupt dismissal. One thing the King stipulated for—that Lord Brougham should not resume the woolsack; and his former colleagues seemed to prefer the chance of his enmity to attempting to act with him. But as it was not easy to find another Chancellor who would bear comparison with Brougham or Lyndhurst, the Great Seal was entrusted to a commission, consisting of Sir Charles Pepys, Sir Lancelot Shadwell, and Mr. Justice Bosanquet. Lord Durham was sent out as ambassador to Russia. The leading members of Lord Melbourne's former Ministry went back to their places; the most notable change being that Earl Mulgrave (now Marquis of Normanby) became Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, with Lord Morpeth for Chief Secretary. Mr. Littleton was raised to the peerage by the title of Lord Hatherton. Mr. Charles Grant, the Colonial Secretary, was likewise called to the House of Lords as Baron Glenelg. Out of the seventeen vacancies in the representation occasioned by these changes, three were filled up by Conservative candidates; Lord John Russell was turned out of the representation of South Devonshire, and had to accept of that of Stroud, Colonel Fox making way for him; and, by a similar accommodation, Lord Palmerston was returned for Tiverton.

Parliament did not resume business till the middle of May. Lord John, taking the lead in the Commons, set out with the encouraging declaration, that if he had learned anything by the experience of the three years during which he had been a member of the Government, it was that they frequently fell into difficulties by undertaking too great a multiplicity of matters. He therefore declined to undertake more, for this session, than municipal reform, and the adjustment of the Irish tithe question. The Conservative Opposition admitted the wisdom of caution, but they justly asked, Did you not complain in the amendment which you carried upon the address, that beside these questions, the progress of "other reforms" had been interrupted by the dissolution of Parliament? Radicals and Dissenters looked coolly upon the Ministers whom they had done their utmost to return to power—their disappointment was in time to be turned to indignation.

On the 5th of June, Lord John Russell expounded his scheme of

municipal reform. It comprehended 178 corporations, including a population of more than two millions. He proposed to deal with, as the Commission had been instructed to inquire into, their boundaries, judicature, police, and finance. Hitherto there had been a close monopoly of the executive and constituent functions in these corporations. Every city and borough had its cliques of dignitaries *in esse* or *in posse*, and each clique its tribes of corrupt and factious clients. Funds bequeathed for purposes of charity, education, or other public uses, were notoriously squandered in feasting and shows. The Commission appointed in '33 had gone into every corporate town, and ascertained all that could be known about its corporate estate and management; and in nearly every one of those towns had been treated to abuse and threats. But they had completed their task, and on their recommendations the Minister proceeded. The first point to be decided, the boundaries of the corporation territories, involved a constitutional question—whether the right to alter them lay in the Crown, by whom charters were originally granted, or in the Legislature;—it was ultimately decided that barristers should be appointed, after the passage of this bill, for the settlement of those boundaries. The finances of the corporations were rescued from further malversation by being placed under the jurisdiction of charitable trustees under the Lord Chancellor. For the better administration of justice, 128 of the 178 boroughs had a commission of the peace assigned to them, and the other 50 were to have salaried police-magistrates on application to the Government. Police, paving and lighting, and other local matters, were to be regulated by the town-councils. The constituencies were to consist of resident householders, having paid poor and other rates three full years. It was a glaring defect of this scheme, that from these just and salutary changes the City of London was exempted; but the omission was deemed essential to the safety of the measure. As it was, it passed the lower House only by majorities composed of Irish and Scotch members, whose constituents it did not affect. The Lords carried one hostile amendment after another, threatened indefinite delay by consenting to hear counsel against the bill, and materially damaged it by preserving the parliamentary and municipal franchises to the thousands of venal paupers who enjoyed them by virtue of birth or creation for factious purposes. The Commons reluctantly accepted these alterations, and the bill passed by the close of the session, which was protracted to the second week of September.

Through that session, Ministers made no progress with the other object to which they were pledged—Irish Church Reform. Lord Morpeth introduced, nearly at the end of June, a bill which re-asserted the appropriation principle, but proposed to remit to the titheowners the £1,000,000 which had been “advanced” to them. To this latter feature, the Radicals were strongly opposed—to the former, Sir R. Peel, Sir James Graham, and Mr.

Stanley objected that all the property of the Church was sacred to the primary purposes of the institution, religious worship and instruction; while Ministers contended that those objects included education and benevolence, and admitted that as an establishment for the propagation of Protestantism the Church could not be defended. The second reading of the bill was carried by a majority of 37; and its authors contrived to add in committee, a clause authorizing an advance of £50,000 for educational purposes, in anticipation of the surplus to accrue from the suppressed benefices and improved management. Thus the bill went up to the Lords, who struck out all the appropriation clauses, by a majority of 97; and Ministers therefore abandoned it.

In the spring of 1836, the struggle upon Irish tithes was preluded by Lord John Russell's promised measures on English tithes and Dissenters' marriages. His plan for the commutation of tithes in England and Wales was easily carried. It provided for the extinction within two years of the *right* to exact tithes in kind, substituting for them a rent-charge, to be regulated by the average price of corn during the preceding seven years. Commissioners were appointed, with authority, in cases where the parties could not agree upon the commutation, before October 1st, 1838, to make a permanent award. Lord John's second measure consisted of two bills—one of which permitted Dissenters to marry in places of worship duly licensed for the purpose, and relieved the public generally from the obligation of any religious ceremony; the second provided for the general registration of marriages, births, and deaths, as had been proposed by Sir Robert Peel.—Lord Morpeth was again in charge of the Irish Tithe Bill. The appropriation principle was not put conspicuously forward, but Ministers still professed a determination to stand or fall by its enactment. The debate this year took a wider range than previously; and evinced a growing perception, on the part of the Conservatives, of the necessity for extensive alterations in the Church of Ireland, but at the same time a determination not to yield a supposed principle. It is curious to observe the use made on both sides of this word; each seeming to consider the professed convictions of the other as things to be put in abeyance, or altogether laid aside as impracticable, at pleasure. Thus we find Lord Stanley at once conspicuous for his fervour in maintaining his own views, and urgent in advising the Ministry to give up their "abstract principle" for the sake of a great practical attainable good. On the 1st of June, his lordship moved an amendment to the second reading, the object of which was to preserve to the Church its undiminished revenues. After a three nights' debate, the amendment was rejected by 300 against 261. The Lords again deleted the appropriation clauses, and altered other clauses relating to stipends. This gave rise, when the bill returned to the

Commons, to a question of privilege, the lower House claiming an exclusive right over money bills; and on this point, without reopening the appropriation controversy, the bill was a third time thrown over.—A similar fate befel a bill for the reform of the municipal corporations of Ireland.—Near the end of the session, Lord John Russell introduced a group of bills founded on the reports of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners. In their entirety, they constituted a respectably comprehensive scheme of Church Reform, though essentially defective from the falsity that lay at the bottom of the Commissioners' recommendations—namely, an estimate of Church revenues at three millions and a half; which scarcely any believed to come near the truth. Of these bills only one was persevered with, and became law. It was thereby enacted that the bishoprics of Bristol and Gloucester, and of Sodor and Man, be united; and the sees of Manchester and Ripon created. The incomes of future bishops were to be kept down to certain sums named; no ecclesiastical dignity or benefice was in future to be held *in commendam*; and restrictions were placed on the renewal of ecclesiastical leases.

“Great would be the joy of the three per cent. if Spring Rice would go into holy orders,” wrote Sydney Smith in his memorable sketch of the Melbourne Ministry. The new Chancellor of the Exchequer had surpassed his predecessor in ill-repute as a financier. In the session of 1836, however, he did one thing of very considerable though imperfect good—namely, the reduction of the newspaper stamp duty. During the period of the Reform agitation, there were a great number of unstamped newspapers in circulation; and the Government were indisposed either to take fresh business on their hands, or to embroil themselves with their supporters, by interfering with these unlawful publications. When political affairs returned to their ordinary, though widened channel, neither the producers nor the readers of these prints were willing to surrender them; but, in justice to the conductors of the legalized press, Government could not allow them to go on—and public morality required some interference with the locust herd of nonsensical or impure sheets that were abroad. A vigorous war ensued between the Government and the publishers. Among the latter, Henry Hetherington was conspicuous for his self-sacrificing resoluteness, submitting to repeated imprisonment and seizure of his stock in trade, and ultimately obtaining a decision in his favour from the judges. Mr. Lytton Bulwer was the appropriate and eloquent spokesman in Parliament of those who desired, on public grounds, a cheap and free press; and, supported by very numerous petitions, he gained from the Chancellor of the Exchequer a promise to surrender the stamp. Instead of its repeal, however, only a reduction from fourpence to one penny was effected—which, it was foretold by Lord Brougham and many others, would prove but a postponement of the con-

troversy. At the same time, restrictions were imposed on the sale of newspapers. The duties on paper for writing, printing, and other purposes, were, however, equalized at the reduced rate of three-halfpence per pound.—Agricultural distress was the subject of several debates, but nothing perceptible came of the discussion. That kindred perplexity, the currency question, was forced upon Parliament by a money panic, communicated from America, and aggravated by a bad harvest at home. The joint-stock banks were the principal sufferers; and, after a committee had set upon the subject through a great part of two sessions, an alteration was made in the laws affecting those establishments.

The repeated spoils by the Lords of measures desired by the people and attempted by the Whigs, fed a hostility to the constitution and prerogatives of the upper House, which the English mind would be slow to entertain on theoretical grounds, and which might have died away with the cessation of the Reform agitation. In the recess of '35, Mr. O'Connell made a tour through the Northern English counties, and as far as Edinburgh, on purpose to agitate for a reform of the peerage; and very imposing were the demonstrations made. Mr. Rippon, one of the members for Gateshead, proposed, in the April following, the ejection of the bishops from the House of Lords, and obtained as many as 53 votes. Mr. Roebuck, Mr. Hume, and Sir W. Molesworth, gave notices of motions for abridging in several respects their lordship's prerogatives; but dropped them for that session.—They had a reason for that abandonment. They were in possession of facts which were soon to create an astounding sensation on the public, and to effectually humiliate the peers. Those facts related to what was called the great Orange conspiracy. While Sir Robert Peel was in power, Mr. Hume, Mr. Shiel, and other Liberal members, pressed him with questions as to the reception of addresses to the Crown from certain illegal associations called Orange Clubs. The question was at last put in a shape which elicited from Mr. Goulburn an answer disavowing anything more than the formal acknowledgment of such addresses having been received. The unusual cheering that followed this statement seemed to give a very undue importance to the affair. But before the close of the session, Mr. Hume had obtained a committee of the House of Commons, and laid before it a vast and astounding mass of facts, showing the existence of a confederation headed by the Duke of Cumberland, as Grand Master, by nearly all the Tory peers, having the Bishop of Salisbury for grand chaplain, 145,000 members in Great Britain, 175,000 in Ireland, with branches in almost every regiment of the army, at home or in the colonies—that in these associations, the deposition of the King in favour of his brother was regularly canvassed, and the idea of a physical force revolution perfectly familiar. Mr. Hume's evidence consisted principally of the cor-

respondence of Col. Fairman, the confidential agent of the leaders, with his principals, extending over six or eight years. The Duke of Cumberland and Lord Kenyon disavowed full knowledge of his proceedings, and distinctly declared themselves ignorant of the existence of Orange Clubs in the army; with which the committee reported themselves unable to reconcile the evidence before them. Lord John Russell induced the House to pause before pronouncing on the Duke's conduct, to give him time to get out of the association; but as he did not do so, Lord John gave him up to the distinct censure of the Commons. During the recess of '36, it was resolved by certain members of the Liberal party to carry the matter through, by indicting the Duke, Lord Kenyon, and the Bishop of Salisbury, under the very law for the violation of which the Dorchester labourers had been transported. Eminent counsel were retained on both sides, the indictments were drawn, and everything was ready, when a principal witness on the side of the prosecution died from anxiety. As soon as the House met, Mr. Hume laid the whole case before it, and proposed an address to the King, which was unanimously agreed to in a milder form. The Duke of Cumberland immediately proceeded to break up the organization, and in a few days the thing was at an end.—The peasant reformers renewed their efforts early in the next session. Mr. C. Lushington moved for the exclusion of the spiritual lords, received the able support of Mr. Charles Buller, and obtained 92 votes out of 289. Mr. T. Duncombe proposed the abolition of the peers' privilege of voting by proxy, which was defeated by a majority of only 48, and that consisting of officials and dependents.

The Royal speech (1837) intimated that the Irish tithe question would again be submitted to Parliament, but Ministers chose first to put forward that of English church-rates. Just previous to the opening of the session, there had been réunions of reformers in the principal constituencies, at which the feeble policy of the Whig Government was severely criticized, and a determination expressed by the leading Radical members to give them henceforth only a conditional support. It was probably this, with the circumstance that the Dissenters were the most powerful and vigorous section of their supporters in the electoral bodies, that induced Ministers to put foremost a measure much wanted and likely to be carried. To Mr. Spring Rice, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, was committed the introduction of this scheme. It proposed to place the landed property of the Church under secular management, assuming that the additional yield would prove sufficient to defray the charges for which church-rates are levied, and leave a surplus for the general purposes of the Ecclesiastical Commission. The Church instantly took alarm at the proposition. The Archbishop of Canterbury assembled his suffragans, and fifteen prelates sent forth from Lambeth a declaration that whatever the Church's lands would yield, absolutely

belonged to her ; that, therefore, if Dissenters were relieved by this method, it would be at the expense of the Church, against which their reverend lordships protested. Ministers vehemently resented this indecorous prejudgment by members of one House, of a scheme yet before the other branch of the Legislature ; but the Church was stronger than the State even in that House where she is unrepresented—the Chancellor carried his bill by a majority of only five, and, therefore, dropped it. Mr. D. W. Harvey proposed the direct abolition of the impost; and was outvoted by 431. Lord John Russell moved for a committee of inquiry into the management of church lands, and obtained it by a majority of 86 ; but an amendment by Mr. Goulburn, pledging the House to appropriate increased revenues to the Church exclusively, was defeated by only 26 votes.—A second attempt to reform the Irish municipal corporations was defeated by the Lords in the name of the Church. The Conservatives assented, under the leadership of Sir Robert Peel, to the necessity of either abolishing or radically reforming the corporations, in which the rancour of sectarian exclusiveness was added to the corruption of official cliqueism, but were reluctant to establish what O'Connell boasted he would make of the new municipalities —“ normal schools of agitation.” The Government bill passed, however, by a majority of 80 ; but the Lords, under the direction of the Duke of Wellington, refused, by a majority of 86, to pass it till they knew what was to be done about the Church revenues.—Thus did the Whig policy of timid contrivance once more break down beneath them.

In the early part of the session, Lord John Russell introduced a series of bills for the further amelioration of the criminal code, reducing the number of crimes punishable by death to seven ; and relieving the sheriffs from the obligation to execute murderers within three days of their condemnation. The Lord Chancellor introduced a second time a bill for abolishing imprisonment for debt, but could not get it through the Peers. Mr. Ewart succeeded in carrying, with the amendments of the Lords, a bill for affording persons put on trial for felony equal legal aid with other attainted prisoners.

One other measure, and that of urgent necessity, a poor-law for Ireland, was proposed by the Ministry. Mr. Nicholls, one of the English Poor-law Commissioners, had gone to Ireland a few months before, with instructions to report on the condition of its pauper class. The measure based on his report was an adaptation of the new English system to the peculiar circumstances of the sister isle. It was well received by all parties except the Irish landlords in either House, O'Connell standing neutral ; and had reached its third stage in the Commons when an event occurred that put a stop to all legislation for the remainder of the year.

That event was, the death of King William the Fourth. It took place



at Windsor Castle, on the 20th of June, in the seventy-third year of his age. He had for some weeks previous felt his end approaching, and desired only to live over the anniversary of Waterloo (the 18th). That wish was gratified—his children by Mrs. Jordan, the actress, were gathered about his bedside—he received the last rites of his Church—and with an assurance to the officiating Archbishop, “I am, indeed, a religious man,” he gently passed away. A more desirable death this, than that of the elder brother—the two men differing in their end much as in their career; the worn-out, broken-spirited, selfish and sensualist, alone with his terrors, unhonoured and unwept; the weak but warm-hearted sovereign and father, kindly esteemed by his subjects, and justly beloved by the children in whom he had endeavoured to repair the wrong done to their mother. So soon as intelligence of the King’s death was communicated to Parliament, spontaneous testimony was borne by those who had been brought into contact with him of the good qualities they had discerned. Lord Melbourne gave witness in one House of his punctual attention to public affairs—Lord John Russell mentioned in the other, with what pleasure he had performed his last official act, the reprieve of a criminal condemned to death. The Duke of Wellington, Earl Grey, Sir R. Peel, and others, had each some trait or anecdote to mention; and it was with more than decorous unanimity that condolence was voted to the widowed Queen. The people had long ceased to shout with enthusiasm for William the Reformer, and to hail him as the Father of his Country;—but they had many kindly and honourable recollections of his public and private life, and he received by general assent an epithet seldom accorded but to men of blood, “The Patriot King.”

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## CHAPTER V.

ACCESSION OF QUEEN VICTORIA—HER EDUCATION AND PERSONAL POPULARITY—GENERAL ELECTION—FEATURES IN THE CONDITION OF THE THREE KINGDOMS; DIFFERENCE BETWEEN THE COMMONS AND THE JUDGES—RELIGIOUS AND ECCLESIASTICAL CONTROVERSIES—COMMERCIAL APPREHENSIONS—CHARTISM—SCOTTISH CHURCH EXTENSION—LORD NORMANBY, IRISH NATIONAL SCHOOLS, AND FATHER MATHEW—CANADIAN DISCONTENTS AND REBELLION—JAMAICA—EUROPE: LOUIS PHILIPPE AND HIS SUBJECTS—SPAIN—PORTUGAL—DENMARK—THE SOLLEVERIN—THE EMPERORS AND “YOUNG GERMANY”—THE ZILLERTHAL PROTESTANTS—SUPPRESSION OF THE INDEPENDENCE OF CRACOW—RUSSIA AND THE CIRCASSIANS.

THE Princess Victoria had attained her majority but a few days before the event which called her to the throne. On the 24th of May, her eighteenth birthday was celebrated at Kensington House: her uncle, absent from premonitory sickness, marked his cheerful recognition of the event by an appropriate gift. A little after daybreak on the morning of the

20th of June, the Primate, the head of the royal household, and the physician, came to hail her as Queen. Among the earliest of the many who hastened to do homage, was the Duke of Cumberland; he was the first to subscribe the oath of allegiance, and then instantly betook himself to Hanover—now his kingdom, by virtue of the Salique law prevailing there; all but the hottest of his Orangemen rejoicing at his going, as at the departure of a sinister cloud from before the English throne. The next day the Queen met her Privy Council, and read to them an address, in which she said:—

“Educated in England, under the tender and enlightened care of a most affectionate mother, I have learned from my infancy to respect and love the Constitution of my native country.

“It will be my unceasing study to maintain the Reformed Religion as by law established; securing at the same time to all the full enjoyment of Religious Liberty. And I shall steadily protect the rights, and promote, to the utmost of my power, the happiness and welfare of all classes of my subjects.”

This graceful allusion to the Duchess of Kent was well approved by the general knowledge. It was widely known that the Princess had been wisely reared in ignorance of her precise destiny, but in habits that would qualify her to fulfil its social if not its political duties. Anecdotes were rife of the fragility to which she had been accustomed in the management of her little affairs, and the pleasure she was wont to take in acts of self-denying kindness;—a combination of qualities that were evinced by the earliest of her subsequent acts—the continuing to allow to her cousins, the Fitzclarences, the sums which their father had allotted them; and the commencing to liquidate her own father's debts. The novelty and sentimental beauty of having for a sovereign an amiable and accomplished girl, had its natural effect—the heat of political partizanship abated for a moment; men of fiercely opposing aims and opinions found a common object of admiration and interest; rabid Toryism could not regret the “dreary Duke”—pale and irritated Discontent, chafing and gnawing at the pillars of the social state, that seemed but a prison-house and not a home, could wish no harm to the young and innocent head on which the crown had descended unsought.

“For a moment,” we say, party heats abated. It was only for a moment. If the session had not been abruptly terminated by the death of the King, it would doubtless have been interrupted by the dissolution of his Ministry. The Whigs had dwindled down their majority of 300, to a bare working majority; and the feeling towards them out of doors was only faintly represented by the divisions of the House of Commons. In one of the few sittings of Parliament previous to its prorogation and a general election,

Lord Lyndhurst delivered, in the upper House, a speech the bitter severity of which scarcely exaggerated the general sentiment. It consisted of a review of the reign and of the session, with such comments as these:—"The noble Viscount and his colleagues were utterly powerless—utterly inefficient and incompetent, as servants of the Crown; equally powerless, incapable, and inefficient, as regarded the people. Almost every reasonable man had but one opinion of their conduct. It elicited the pity of their friends, and excited the scorn and derision of the enemies of their country." There was no reply to such invective as this, but a catalogue of works accomplished; and that was just what the Whigs could not adduce. They went to the country, instead, with two cries—the favour of the Queen, and resistance to the demand for Scottish Church Extension. That the Queen had expressed a wish to retain their services, was deemed warrant enough for a use of the royal name which would have been resented as in the last degree "unconstitutional," if made by the other party. The Dissenters were held to their allegiance by representations grounded on circumstances we shall presently explain. But neither did appeals to the Royal nor to the democratic prevail to restore a Whig majority. Several of the principal constituencies openly deserted to Conservatism. Mr. Hume was compelled by the electors of Middlesex to accept the representation of Kilkenry at the hands of Mr. O'Connell. Mr. Grote, the favourite of the City of London, was re-elected by a majority of only six. Mr. Roebuck was unseated at Bath; Liverpool and Hull gave up their Radical for Conservative members. It was finally estimated that the Whigs and Whig-Radicals combined would have a preponderance in the Commons of not more than twelve votes; and the Opposition immediately raised a fund for contesting in committee half a dozen doubtful returns.

It may be well before resuming our Parliamentary narrative, to bestow a glance upon the condition of the kingdoms over which Victoria had been called to reign.

Beginning at the top of the social scale, we notice that the legislative and judicial bodies were at variance upon a question of their respective rights. The dispute had arisen thus: A witness before a Select Committee of the House of Commons had incidentally mentioned one Stockdale as the publisher of an infamous book. The evidence was ordered to be printed; Stockdale brought an action for libel against the printers, Messrs. Hansard; the defendant pleaded the authority of the House, which Lord Chief Justice Denman decided to disallow; and the House resolved by large majorities—the Whig and Conservative leaders concurring—that its privileges were invaded by that decision.—A step lower, we observe the thoughtful and religious classes agitated by theological and ecclesiastical controversies—the revival under new names of old antagonisms;

the re-appearance of perennial principles under quite new forms. Evangelicism now found itself confronted by a system fully as earnest as itself, and yet attaching infinite significance to the observances from which the old Formalism had been with so much difficulty dislodged; both were impeached of unreasonableness and bigotry by a Liberalism which could not with plausibility be cried down as irreligious; and among the adherents of each of these professions were found the advocates of an entire change in the relation of the Church to the State, of the civil and sacerdotal elements. As yet, these disputes had not reached the stage of corporate action. Pusey taught in the University; Froude was but just dead; the "Tracts for the Times" were in process of issue; but they had become so obvious as to attract attention in Parliament, and to form a new element of embarrassment to statesmen.—Parallel with these disquietudes were others of a mundane nature. Men skilled to read the signs of the commercial heavens, foresaw a protracted season of depression and distress, and distrusted the ability of the pilots at the helm to weather the storm. One bad harvest had sufficed to turn many eyes to other shores, and to revive in many minds the question, Why should artificial barriers be added to the natural separation of these food-teeming fields from our narrow soil?—Lower down still, there was the phenomenon of Chartism. About this time, six radical M.P.'s, and six members of the London Working Men's Association, united in drawing up the document entitled the People's Charter. Under that new banner almost the whole of the working classes of England seemed instantly to range themselves. The operation of the new Poor Law—under the mildest administration only reconcilable to the heart by the clearest dictates of the judgment; and when rigorously or heartlessly administered, revolting to all spectators, maddening to its subjects—drove many thousands into a movement which held out the hope of superseding pauperism altogether. There were other thousands, likely never to feel the harshness, but actually the better for the stern discrimination and economy, of the new law, to whom the Charter was an expression of deep, angry disappointment. It was a smaller class, no doubt, but yet a very large one, to whom the Charter was the embodiment of intelligent convictions, and who designed to make the movement "a new organization of the people;" an education of the masses in fitness to exercise the rights it would procure for them.

The ecclesiastical controversies which were only speculative in England, had already advanced in Scotland to the region of political strife. The Established Church, notwithstanding that several large bodies had gone off from it in successive secessions, comprehended above eleven hundred congregations, covering the entire country. But Dr. Chalmers, and other of her magnates, sincerely compassionating, no doubt, the spiritual condition of the town populations, and impatient to realize an ideal unity of

religious and secular institutions, conceived a bold project of Church extension, for which they besought the aid of the Government. Ministers, ignorant or careless alike of the principles and the facts of the case, did not discourage—though they strenuously denied having sanctioned—the scheme. As, however, Parliament could not be expected to vote money on the *ex parte* representations of divines, a Commission was appointed to investigate the resources and appliances of the Church. The General Assembly protested against the composition of the Commission; and still more clamorously when there were indications of an intention to apply the appropriation principle to the Church of Scotland as well as to the Church of Ireland. The report of the Commission so thoroughly exploded the alleged necessity for more churches and clergy—and the Dissenters of both countries were so thoroughly aroused and indignant, Glasgow alone sending up an anti-state-church petition, signed by 14,000 persons—that Ministers took a position of decided hostility to the Assembly; and, in virtue of that position, received the energetic support of the Dissenters in all the Scotch, and in many of the English constituencies.

In no part of her vast dominions was the young Queen the object of such frantic loyalty as in Ireland. The policy of Lords Normanby and Morpeth had been the redeeming feature of the Melbourne Administration. With an impartiality to which the Irish people were almost entire strangers, the Viceroy declined the advances of either party; dismissed from public offices known members of illegal associations; conferred the honours in his gift on meritorious Roman Catholics, instead of on Protestant retainers; and when he had sufficiently vindicated the justice of his rule, exercised a wise and humane clemency in the release of political offenders. The Government also encouraged in every way the progress of a system of National Education, originated by the Earl of Leinster and Mr. Stanley; in connection with which there were now nearly three thousand schools and more than three hundred thousand scholars. And during these years a wonderful and most beneficial revolution was rapidly effecting itself. Father Mathew had started on his divine mission as the Apostle of Temperance, and the people, by hundreds of thousands, were pledging themselves to total abstinence from their darling whisky. Under these new and happy auspices, all the poetry of the Irish heart welled up at the name of Victoria, whether shouted by O'Connell at a monster meeting, or coupled with a benediction from the priest at the altar.

In one of the colonies of the British Crown, the change of sovereigns was coincident with an attempt to break away from connexion with the Mother Country. The Canadians had many and serious grounds of complaint. Though of a mixed race, they had proved their devotion to England in the American war of 1812-14; but had not been rewarded with

the functions of local self-government, nor were permitted freedom of internal development. The separation of the legislative from the judicial bodies—the responsibility of the Executive and officials—a greater command over the revenues of the colony—the application of property reserved for ecclesiastical purposes to other public uses—these were the demands reiterated year after year in the Assemblies of both Provinces; these the grounds on which a struggle was maintained with successive Governors. In 1833 the Assembly of the Lower Province separated without voting supplies, and three years later the Assembly of the Upper Province did the same. The reply of the Home Government to these proceedings provoked the Canadians to threaten an appeal to force. The arrest of two persons for sedition was the signal for a rebellion so formidable in appearance, that Lord Gosford left General Sir J. Colborne in military command of the Colony.—Another of the British possessions was also in a state of feverish disaffection; but from very different causes. The Jamaica Assembly had provoked Lord Sligo to an act of indiscretion that necessitated his retirement. Sir Lionel Smith succeeded no better. The spirit of the Abolition Act was violated in every way; barbarities, sometimes amounting to torture and murder, were practised upon the apprentices; juries of planters refused to convict their fellows; and the legal protectors of the negroes were abused and thwarted to an intolerable degree. The negroes were avenged by the revival of the abolitionist movement in England in its former vigour; memorials from tens of thousands of English women besought the Queen to inaugurate her reign by promoting the entire and immediate abolition of slavery; Lord Brougham moved the Lords by a display of extraordinary eloquence on the same behalf; and the Imperial Parliament speedily passed an Act to amend the Act for the Abolition of Slavery; to obeying which the planters preferred immediate Emancipation. How the Government dealt with the Colonial Legislature, and what difficulties the case involved, we shall see presently.

Let us extend our survey to the Continental nations.—Louis Philippe was now in the seventh year of his reign. In the words of M. Thiers, he had resolved to rule as well as reign. He seemed to regard his Ministers only as clerks; and as the majority in both Chambers were his creatures, the Parliament became little better than a court for the registering of his decrees. But by thus constituting himself a personal ruler, he divested himself of the protection cast around the constitutional monarch by the fiction ‘that the king can do no wrong.’ When, in 1834, he insisted, even to the breaking-up of successive Cabinets, in bringing hundreds of his subjects to trial for republican conspiracies, he made himself the personal enemy of such indomitable spirits as Lagrange, Barbes, and Blanqui, and incurred the hate of the revengeful or the despairing. At the fifth anniversary of the Revolution

[July 28th, 1835], he escaped assassination only by a hair's-breadth. A Corsican named Fieschi, who had been successively a soldier, a criminal, and a police spy, in league with two other miscreants, constructed an apparatus fitly designated the "infernal machine." This he fired from a window as the King, surrounded by his sons and his suite, rode by, on the Boulevard du Temple. Marshal Mortier, General de Verigny, and, in all, fourteen persons, were killed, and twice that number wounded. Within two years afterwards, three other designs on the King's life were discovered. On the last day of October, 1836, Louis Napoleon Bonaparte, nephew of the Emperor, made his appearance in the streets of Strasburg, dressed like the effigies of his uncle, and calling on the people to accept him for their chief. The bold adventure experienced an ignominiously speedy termination. The gates of the inn-yard were closed upon the party, and it surrendered; but the affair awakened feelings which the King wisely forbore to excite—the Prince had merely a passage given him to America, and his followers were acquitted, in the face of facts, of the charges on which they were tried. Notwithstanding his own immense possessions, the embarrassed state of the national finances, and widely prevalent distress, Louis Philippe asked for and obtained "dotations" for two of his sons, and for his daughter, the Queen of the Belgians. Nor was there aught in his foreign policy to gratify the French people. His boasted *entente cordiale* was known to be a cloak for meanly ambitious designs; and in Algeria he waged a war in which French vanity suffered severely from the arms of Abd-el-Kader's Arabs.—Spain had settled down, after six years of civil war, incessant insurrections, and as frequent changes of ministry, into comparative quiet. Our Government had formed with France, Portugal, and the Queen, what was called the Quadruple Treaty—a treaty offensive and defensive against Don Carlos. The Foreign Enlistment Act was suspended, that an army might be raised in England for the Queen's cause; a considerable force was got together under the title of the Spanish Auxiliary Legion, and was led by Colonel (now General Sir De Lacy) Evans, to the scene of conflict; while a naval squadron co-operated off the coast. The character of the war may be judged of from one incident:—General Noguera, one of the Queen's commanders, ordered the Governor of Tortosa to seize the aged mother of Cabrera, a Carlist chief, and put her to death, in retaliation for her son's cruelties. The Governor refused to execute the inhuman mandate; but Mina, the Captain-General, enforced it, and the poor infirm, old woman was actually shot in a public place! Cabrera swore to appease the manes of his mother with the lives of thirty gentlewomen of the opposite party, began by shooting the wives of four Christina officers, and ordered the soldiers to kill every prisoner they made. Our countrymen partook largely in the character of the general scene. The Legion was not very successful in its manœuvres, was

ill-supported in fight, worse paid, and therefore mutinous. It was at length by the adoption of something like the constitution of 1812, and an extensive confiscation of Church property, that the Pretender was put down, and a more stable government established with Espartero as Regent.—The girlish Queen of Portugal had taken to herself a second husband; and quarrelled with her ministers, first about helping the Queen of Spain, which she was opposed to, and next about the appointment of her husband to the command of the army, which she insisted on. A military insurrection compelled her to re-instate the Ministers; but they were in turn (September, 1836) the objects of popular fury, from which Saldanha and his colleagues were rescued by an English squadron. For all the trouble and disgrace we incurred for the sake of our "ancient ally," we were repaid with insults; and a commercial treaty, important to our interests, expiring soon after this, the dominant party in Portugal refused to renew it.—The King of Denmark had astonished his subjects by the gift of a constitution.—The King of Prussia had now completed a cherished and worthy object of his life—the combination of all the German states into a Zollverein, or commercial union, in place of a separate tariff and custom-house system for each little kingdom or duchy. Francis, Emperor of Austria, died in March, 1836. His successor, Ferdinand, had a meeting with the King of Prussia and Emperor of Russia, at Warsaw; and the three seem there to have formed a league of aggression on whatever remained of freedom in Central Europe, and especially of defence against "Young Germany." Writers and orators of that school were silenced, and when they fled into Switzerland, the cantons were summoned to give them up. The Zillerthal Protestants had long enjoyed toleration in the peaceful exercise of their religion under Austrian rule; but they were to do so no longer: five hundred of their people were rooted out and settled in Silesia. The independence of Cracow was a principal article of the Treaty of Vienna: it was now arbitrarily suppressed by the Emperor, with the connivance of the other powers. The Poles were threatened by the Czar in person, at Warsaw, with utter extermination, if they were again refractory. The treaty with Turkey gave Russia claim to Circassia, the attempted enforcement of which was the origin of the war maintained to this day by the unconquerable mountaineers; and, incidentally, the occasion of the "Russophobia" which now first displayed itself, and which time has deepened into a very reasonable dread of Russian policy.

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## CHAPTER VI.

CANADIAN INSURRECTION: LORD DURHAM'S MISSION—THE JAMAICA LEGISLATURE AND THE IMPERIAL GOVERNMENT—SIR ROBERT PEEL AND HIS CHIEF DIFFICULTIES—ABANDONMENT BY THE WHIGS OF THE APPROPRIATION PRINCIPLE—MAD TOM OF CANTERBURY—CHARTISM IN 1838 AND '39; NATIONAL CONVENTION, MONSTER PETITION, BIRMINGHAM RIOTS, NEWPORT INSURRECTION—ANTI-CORN-LAW LEAGUE IN 1839 AND '40—FREE-TRADE BUDGET AND DISSOLUTION OF PARLIAMENT—TURKEY AND EGYPT—WAR UPON CHINA—INVASION OF AFGHANISTAN.

THE Canadian insurrection was over almost before the news of its commencement had reached England. The principal "action" consisted of an unsuccessful attack upon Toronto. A body of insurgents retired to Navy Island, where they were joined by a number of American sympathisers. Sir G. Head, the Governor of Upper Canada, did not feel himself strong enough to dislodge them; but having learned that a steamer called the "Caroline" was waiting an opportunity to reinforce them, ventured to seize it, though in the United States territory, and stoutly defended; had it emptied, fired, and sent over the falls of Niagara. With the taking of Navy Island, the insurrection terminated.—One of the first things said about it in Parliament was by the Duke of Wellington, and has now become an aphorism: "A great country like England can never have a little war." Lord Brougham came out as the unreserved adversary of his former colleagues. He directed his terrible powers of invective against the policy which had pushed provocation to exasperating lengths, and yet taken no precaution against resentment. "Tyranny and oppression have here appeared stripped of their instinctive apprehension and habitual circumspection. Compared with the conduct which we are now called upon to contemplate, the most vacillating and imbecile, the most inconsistent and impotent rulers, command respect—King John, and Richard Crouwell himself, become wise, politic, and vigorous princes." Lord John Russell met the Commons, immediately on their re-assembling, with a bill for suspending the constitution of Lower Canada till November, 1840, and sending out a Governor-General with extraordinary powers—an appointment which he intimated, at once, Lord Durham was just the man to fill. Opposition to the measure came from the Radicals alone—and only from the sternest of them; the hostility of the great majority being disarmed by the selection made of a Lord High Commissioner. Mr. Hume had been the correspondent of M'Kenzie, the Canadian leader, and now claimed for Mr. Roebuck—the authorized representative of the Assembly of Lower Canada, but, unfortunately, no longer in the House—a hearing at the bar. The bill

was carried by immense majorities and with great haste; though of such vague severity, as to call forth censure from the Duke of Wellington. The Earl of Durham accepted his onerous office with reluctance, and with a touching appeal for co-operation from his colleagues, and forbearance from his opponents. Among the gentlemen that accompanied him was the excellent Charles Buller—his secretary, counsellor, and friend. He landed at Quebec on the 29th of May, and was received in a manner that seemed to him indicative of "more than a friendly feeling." He showed at once that he viewed his mission as one of conciliation. His first announcement was that of an amnesty for all but some twenty-five persons and a notification of measures in preparation. Of the persons excepted from the amnesty, eight had consented to acknowledge themselves guilty of high treason, and submit to the Governor's will, which was, that they be transported to Bermuda during the Queen's pleasure; Papineau, and fifteen others, who had absconded; and the remainder, persons implicated in a murder. The eight were deported to the Bermudas; but the Governor of those islands doubted whether he had legal authority to receive them, and only detained them on parole. Lord Durham's enemies at home eagerly seized upon the technicality. Lord Brougham showed that the act under which the Lord High Commissioner was appointed, gave him no authority to punish men who had not been tried. Ministers but feebly urged that Lord Durham had acted in the spirit of his instructions, and had been eminently successful. He found neither the "co-operation" nor the "forbearance" he had bespoken. His ordinance was annulled—the detenus were set at liberty to return to Canada, without giving even security for their good behaviour. The intelligence struck the high-spirited statesman to the soul. He conceived that self-respect and public usefulness required him to throw up his post, even in the midst of his work. He had re-established friendly relations with the Cabinet of Washington—had conciliated the French, without offending any but the high Tory British Canadians—had issued, or was about to issue, ordinances relative to municipal and judicial institutions, general education, and the tenure of land—and now all that he had done was perilled, and all that he proposed prevented. He bade the Canadians farewell in a proclamation that brought them tearful to the edge of the shore, when he embarked for England, in the middle of November, himself so ill that he could scarcely be expected to survive the voyage. He arrived here, however, in safety, but to experience indignity from his old colleagues. The Queen's speech at meeting Parliament [February, 1839], ignored his services; and Ministers withheld from Parliament the report he had presented to them. It was therefore given to the country through other channels, and was considered by his friends an ample vindication. Mr. Poulett Thompson—one of the many men of the

people whom the aristocratic Whigs had spoiled in their service—was created Lord Sydenham, and sent out to Canada. He found dissensions revived, and outrages recommencing. He persevered, however, in his predecessor's policy, and had the satisfaction of accomplishing a federal union of the two provinces.—Lord Durham died in July, 1840; and Lord Sydenham in September of the next year.

There is no party like the pedantic constitutionalists for arbitrariness in exigencies. The Whigs had always boasted, while in opposition, that a system of government like ours is equal to any demand upon it—for a second time within two years, they now presented to Parliament a suspension bill for immediate adoption. The Jamaica House of Assembly having declared that the Imperial Parliament had violated the inherent rights of the colony, Ministers proposed, by Mr. Labouchere, to put in abeyance, for five years, rights that had been enjoyed through two centuries. The substance of the ministerial proposition was, that in place of the Colonial Assembly voting supplies, the representatives of the Crown have authority to levy half-a-million of taxation annually. Even among those who were least disposed to sympathize with the truculence of the planters, this high-handed method of procedure was warmly condemned. Sir Robert Peel opposed it on grounds that won for him the support of many Liberals, as well as of his own compact followers, more than three hundred strong. He expressed the pith of his argument in a quotation from Mr. Canning: "No feeling of wounded pride, no motive of questionable expediency, nothing short of real and demonstrable necessity, shall induce me to moot the awful question of the transcendental power of Parliament over every dependency of the British Crown. That transcendental power is an arcanum of the empire, which ought to be kept within the penetralia of the constitution. It exists, but it should be veiled. It should not be produced in cases of petty refractoriness or temporary misconduct, nor, indeed, on any occasion short of the utmost extremity of the State." The bill was suffered to pass the earlier stages *pro forma*, that counsel might be heard against it; but when a division was taken (May the 6th), there was a majority of only five for the bill (294 to 289). On this, Ministers resigned. By the advice of the Duke of Wellington, Sir Robert Peel was entrusted with the formation of a Ministry. In that he was, of course, successful—he had no difficulty in finding men to serve with and under him, and there was nothing in the state of public affairs or the disposition of the country to render his success improbable. But having completed his political arrangements, the composition of the royal household demanded his attention. The constancy of Lord Melbourne's attendance upon the Queen had long been a matter of universal talk—her Majesty had actually greeted Sir Robert with the frank confession that she parted from her late Ministers with great reluctance.

Taking up the red book, he observed that the principal ladies of the Court were wives and sisters of his most decided opponents. He desired no change below that of the Ladies of the Bedchamber—he supposed that the ladies above that rank would retire of their own accord, and promptly. On intimating this to their royal mistress, it seems that surprise and abjection were expressed. The next morning brought the following note:—“Buckingham Palace, May 10th, 1839.—The Queen, having considered the proposal made to her yesterday by Sir Robert Peel, to remove the Ladies of the Bedchamber, cannot consent to adopt a course which she conceives to be contrary to usage, and which is repugnant to her feelings.” The reply was an explanation by Sir Robert of his reasons for the recommendation he had made, and a resignation of the authority entrusted to him. He stated the circumstances, and read the correspondence, in the House of Commons, thereby dispelling the absurd representations of the affair which had been eagerly circulated by Whig partisans, and were very effective with the sentimental portion of the community.—The Melbourne cabinet was restored, and the Jamaica bill passed in a modified form.

It was in the course of his speech upon this occasion that Sir Robert Peel employed the famous expression, “Ireland was my chief difficulty.” “My difficulties were not Canada; my difficulties were not Jamaica; but my difficulties were, Ireland.” But the difficulty of Irish administration was chiefly of a personal nature. The Normanby and Morpeth policy had certainly exercised its natural effect in conciliating the Irish people—but it is nearly as certain that its remarkable success was in part owing to a tacit compact between the Ministry and the O’Connell party in Parliament—a compact in which the distribution of patronage was concerned, and which another Ministry could not have continued. That which would have presented apparently the greatest obstacle to the working of a Conservative Government, their opponents had taken out of the way. The Whig Ministers had abandoned the appropriation clause! Through the first two months of the session of 1836, they said nothing about the tithe question. Sir Robert Peel at length questioned them on the subject, and was informed that they intended to place the matter “on a ground altogether new.” The Opposition foresaw their triumph—disheartened friends could scarcely believe in their betrayal. Nothing but ambiguities could be got from Ministers, however, until the middle of May, when they were tested by a motion for rescinding the resolutions of 1835. They defended these resolutions, declared their convictions unaltered, but admitted that they had in hand a measure from which the principle so solemnly affirmed was omitted. Never, surely, did man pay more dearly for office than did Lord John Russell when he had that night to listen to Sir Robert Peel and Lord Stanley. Sir

Robert recounted, with undisguised and quite excusable exultation, how he would have settled this question three years before, but was prevented on the plea of that very "principle" which his victorious successors now surrendered to a pretended necessity, no whit more urgent now than then. The House refused, by a small majority, to rescind the resolutions; but they voted down, a few weeks later, by immense majorities, a motion by Mr. Ward, re-asserting the appropriation principle. Mr. Grote said he believed this to be one of the most flagrant instances of tergiversation on record; others, not habitually so temperate as he, gave strong expression to the same feeling. The subjects of all this triumph and anger replied only in the deprecatory and dulcet strains of Lord Morpeth. With the aid of the Conservatives, Ministers obtained an easy victory over the Radical Opposition; the Lords accepted the fifth of the Irish tithes bills sent up from the Commons, and the Melbourne Government obtained peace at the cost of honour.

The same summer which beheld this ignominious abandonment of the principle, that the design of a Church Establishment includes the instruction of the people, beheld also a mournful illustration of the low degree to which that object had been accomplished in England. Almost within sight of Canterbury Cathedral towers, on the 31st of May, 1838, a battle was fought between the Queen's troops and the followers of a madman claiming to be King of Kent, and the Messiah of all England. Some years before, one Thom, a yeoman and maltster of Cornwall, had left his home, and set up an establishment in the county of Kent, under the style of Sir William Courtenay, Knight of Malta. He supported the assumption by wearing an oriental costume, by a generous style of living, and by an imposing presence. He soon became popular among the peasantry, and stood so well with the better classes, that in the year 1833 he polled 350 votes on the Conservative interest in an election for Canterbury. Shortly after, he was imprisoned in the county gaol for perjury; but indications of his insanity became so decided, that the Home Secretary (Lord John Russell) ordered him to be given up to his friends. In the opening of this year, he reappeared in Kent, to the delight of the rustics of Boughton and Herne Hill. He harangued them with a fervour that was to them eloquent. To the farmers he promised land rent-free—to the labourers, relief from the rigours of the Poor-law. He even added to his former assumptions, those of Divine attributes—assured his followers he was invulnerable to shot or steel, would prove their Saviour, and reward them with places in his kingdom. These lunatic pretensions gained extensive credence. On the morning of the 28th of May, about one hundred men and women attached themselves to his train, and sallied forth from the village of Boughton. They visited a number of places, and drew

many labourers from their work. A farmer thus incommoded, sent a constable on the 31st to bring back those of his men who were in the procession. As soon as the constable was pointed out to Thom, he shot him with a pistol, then stabbed him with a dagger, and threw the body into a ditch. The magistrates on hearing of this, sent off for the military. A party of soldiers arrived, and found the whole body in the depths of Bossenden Wood. As Lieutenant Bennett advanced at the head of his men, Thom shot him dead. The soldiers immediately fired, and Thom fell. But his followers crowded round him, and ten lives were lost, besides many being wounded, before they would disperse. The poor maniac was evidently dead, but a woman persisted in endeavouring to revive him with water, as he had bidden her, and for which she had followed him with a pail of water a long way. Others of his followers expected that he would rise up alive, or be taken to heaven on a cloud; and one of them assured the commanding-officer, they would have resisted any number of soldiers in their leader's defence, as they shared in his invulnerability; but they made no effort even to rescue the body of their prophet. Some of the prisoners taken were put on their trial; three were transported, and six suffered a year's imprisonment. It is said that for years after, this strange delusion lingered among the Kentish peasants.

We come now to the first of two or three distinct periods in the Chartist movement (including under that designation all that passed for Chartism). This period stretches over the years 1838 and '39. We find first on record, a great open-air meeting at Holloway Head, near Birmingham, on the 6th of August, 1838. Mr. Attwood, M.P., presided. Delegates from the working-men of London, Liverpool, and the towns of Lancashire and Yorkshire, attended. The numbers present were estimated at fully 200,000. Mr. Scholefield—Mr. Attwood's colleague in the representation of Birmingham—and Mr. Feargus O'Connor, an Irish barrister, were among the speakers. The proceedings were orderly even to solemnity, commencing with a short prayer by the chairman. A petition for the enactment of the People's Charter was adopted. A few weeks later, a similar meeting was held at Kersal Green, Manchester; when Mr. Fielding, M.P. for Oldham, presided. The orator of the day was the Rev. J. Stephen, a Wesleyan minister, notorious for his fanatical opposition to the Poor-law. He rightly enough described the agitation as at bottom a "knife and fork question;" but, unhappily, soon got to suggest its settlement by pikes and bludgeons. The latter part of his speech, on this occasion, was garnished by such exclamations as these:—"Why have you left your arms at home? Because you are afraid?"—to which, of course, the excited populace responded, "No, no!" The London Chartists held a noontday meeting in Palace-yard, Westminster; and suburban meetings in the

evenings in open places. As the winter drew on, these assemblages were not discontinued, but lit by torches, in the glare of which the timid saw all the apparatus of rebellion and incendiarism. On the 22nd of November, Lord John Russell desired the magistrates in the North to notify that such meetings were illegal; and in December, a royal proclamation warned all peaceful subjects to keep away from them. The Chartists replied that they had no place of meeting but the open air, and no time but after working hours; and the class of people who had it in their power to remove the former cause of complaint, did not do what they might—chapels were too sacred, town-halls only for rate-payers. On the 30th of December, Mr. Stephen was arrested for very plainly hinting to a mob the burning-out of an obnoxious magistrate at Ashton-under-Lyne. He was released on bail; and went about the country delivering, to immense congregations, sermons in which the denunciations of scripture against oppressors of the poor, were applied in entire forgetfulness of more pacificatory texts.—The Queen's speech, in opening the session of 1839, expressed regret that the people, in some parts of the country, had been excited to dangerous and illegal practices. Mr. Duncombe moved, as an amendment on the address, to inform her Majesty that the Reform Act had greatly disappointed her people, and that the time was now come for the extension of its benefits to all classes; which received 86 votes against 426. In April, Henry Vincent and others—a deputation of London Chartists to Devises—were set upon by a mob brought into the town, and very roughly handled; shortly afterwards, Vincent was committed to prison, on a charge of uttering seditious language at Newport. In May, the National Convention—a body of delegates from the working men of Great Britain, probably as *bonâ fide* a representation as they ever enjoyed—commenced its sittings in London. Whatever may be alleged of the qualifications or motives of its members, it cannot be denied that it was decided and earnest in its reprobation of violence, and that the majority were under the influence of talented, honest, and temperate men. Under its superintendence, the National Petition was presented on the 14th of June. It purported to bear 1,200,000 signatures; and so enormous was its bulk, that it was literally rolled into the House by half-a-dozen Radical members. The House received it with respect; and consented to the suspension of a standing order, that Mr. Attwood might enlarge upon its prayer. On the 12th of July, he moved for a committee of the whole House to consider of its Five Points; but that was deemed too great a demand upon the indulgence of the People's Representatives—the motion was negatived by 235 to 189. A few days before there had broken out at Birmingham the first of a series of disturbances. The Government immediately sent down sixty of the London police, armed. Their interference greatly excited the populace, and

was afterwards resented by the Town Council. The Convention also sent down from London resolutions strongly condemning this employment of the metropolitan force; for which Lovett and Collins, the Secretaries, and a Dr. Taylor, were apprehended by the authorities. The Chartists, refused the use of the Town Hall, insisted on meeting in a place called the Ball-ring; the police attempted to dislodge them, but were unable, without the aid of the military. The day after the refusal to consider the Petition, there was a far worse outbreak than any before. Several houses were burned down, and it was some days before quiet was restored. As the winter advanced, there were riots at Sheffield and other places. In many towns of the Northern and Midland counties, processions levied contributions of food and money upon the shopkeepers. In addition to the old device of running upon the savings-banks, the more violent leaders recommended "a sacred month"—a month of cessation from labour, and abstinence from taxed articles of food—the election of representatives, exclusive dealing, and the acquisition of arms. Another novel and eccentric device was, attending the cathedrals and churches in great numbers—an enviable opportunity and inspiration to the preachers, if they had but known it! In the summer and autumn assizes, Henry Vincent was tried, and sentenced to one year's imprisonment; William Lovett and Joseph Collins to the same (Taylor was discharged); three of the Birmingham rioters to death; Stephen, to eighteen months' imprisonment; McDonall, for sedition, to twelve months'; and thirty or forty others to various terms of imprisonment: Vincent, Lovett, and Collins, conducted their own defence; and were complimented by the Crown council on the ability and moderation they displayed. In September, the Convention dissolved itself, by a resolution carried by the Chairman's casting vote. O'Connor was presently afterwards arrested and held to bail on a charge of sedition;—it was a matter of wonder and complaint with many, that he had been at large so long, while the leaders of another section of Chartists had been under lock and key. The Ministry then congratulated the country through their Attorney-General (Sir John Campbell) that Chartism was extinct. But by putting some of the best men out of the way, they had abandoned it to the worse; and the agitation whose peaceful forms they had discouraged, had become a conspiracy. On the night of Sunday, November the 3rd, Mr. Frost, a magistrate of Newport, marched bodies of armed men, four or five thousand strong, upon that town. Mr. Frost had been appointed by Lord John Russell a borough magistrate some years before. Learning that Mr. Frost had been elected a delegate to the Convention, his lordship called upon him to resign his commission; but received a spirited refusal, on the ground that the Convention was a perfectly legal assembly; and he was not superseded. His brother magistrates were prepared for the attack; and posted them-



selves, with a company of foot soldiers, in the principal inn of the town. They awaited the assault of the first column, led by Frost in person, and received an irregular volley of slugs, which wounded the Mayor—Mr. (afterwards created Sir Thomas) Phillips—and several other persons. But one or two rounds from the soldiers routed the miserable array. The insurgents took to flight; Frost was captured; Williams and Jones, who were advancing with other columns, disbanded their men, but were also captured. The three were tried for high treason by a special commission. The evidence disclosed the existence of preparations for a really formidable rising, had Newport been carried; and as it is not necessary to design the death or overthrow of the Sovereign to constitute the guilt of high treason, the prisoners were convicted, and left for execution. But the hearts of a large portion of the middle classes revolted from the thought of the gallows and the hangman's knife being employed to vindicate the throne of a youthful Queen, on the eve of marriage; Chartists who condemned the enterprise no less than they deplored the fate of its authors, joined in pleading for clemency; the judges were divided on a technicality raised by the prisoners' counsel; and so the punishment of death was commuted to transportation for life.

The Charter had given a form and aim to political discontents; but Chartism, even of the lowest kind, must not be saddled with the odium of all this turbulence. The country had entered upon a long, dark season of commercial depression—a phrase that covers, in this high state of civilization, an infinitude of misery; ruin to the embarrassed, penury to the labourers, destitution to the poor. The harvest of 1836 had been inferior to those of the previous five years; that of '37 was still worse; the harvest of '38 yielded one-fourth less than that of '34—"the most deficient crop of any since 1816." As the price of bread went up, wages went down, manufacturers and traders stopped, employment grew scarce, with so regular a step as to strike the dullest ear. Amidst the indifference of one class, the dismay of another, the blind anger of a third, a band of hopeful, because perceptive and resolute men, arose. In September, 1838, fifty or sixty persons formed themselves, at Manchester, into the Anti-corn-law League. With the opening of Parliament in 1839 an Anti-corn-law Convention assembled in London. The silence of the Queen's speech on the subject called forth reprobatory resolutions from many public meetings. On the 7th of February, Mr. Villiers moved that evidence be heard at the bar on the operation of the corn-laws; which Lord John Russell counselled the House to reject as unprecedented and inconvenient—and the House did so, by 361 to 172. The Lords contemptuously negatived a similar motion by Lord Brougham. The delegates adjourned to Manchester, and at once appealed from Parliament to the people. The "Anti-Bread-Tax Circular" was started; Mr. Paulton, and other efficient lecturers, sent about the country;

and local associations formed in all the principal towns. With the opening of the session of 1840, another convention assembled in London. Mr. Villiers repeated his motion, which was defeated by 300 to 117 votes; but Mr. Hume obtained a committee on import duties, whose report became the text-book of Free-traders. Female influence was enlisted by a method novel to political agitation—tea-parties. The constituencies were also specially addressed; and a vacancy occurring in the representation of Walsall, it was contested on simple free-trade principles. In such good earnest did the League do its work—aided by the sharp teaching of adversity—that by the beginning of 1841, a falling Ministry clutched at its strength for salvation. The Whigs had added to all their other sins the unpardonable one, in a commercial community, of an insolvent exchequer. The revenue had fallen nearly two millions below the expenditure. Ministers resolved to attempt its replenishment, and to renew their lease of office, now absolutely run out, by an experiment on free-trade. True, the Premier had declared, not many years before, that it was the maddest of all madness to dream of altering the corn-laws; and more recently, that an attempt to do so would cost more than it would be worth. True, Lord John Russell had even rejected information on the subject, and had refused the prayer of three million petitioners on a reference to precedents. But the hardest words must be eaten now. Accordingly, the Chancellor of the Exchequer (Mr. F. Baring), proposed a fixed duty of eight shillings per quarter on corn, and a reduction of the sugar and timber-duties. The sense of the House was tested first on the proposed new sugar duties; and Ministers were outvoted by 36 [281 to 317]. With inimitable nonchalance, Mr. Baring intimated the next day, that he should move the renewal of the existing duties. Sir Robert Peel checkmated his tenacious opponents by a motion of no confidence (moved by Sir J. Yarde Buller), which he carried by a majority of one [312 to 311]. But Ministers had resolved to save the country—they therefore dissolved the Parliament [June 22nd].

It was not domestic difficulties alone that were thickening upon the falling Ministry. They had ruptured our friendship with France, commenced a war upon China, and incurred unforeseen disasters in Afghanistan. In 1839, the standing quarrel between the Sublime Porte and Mohammed Ali broke into open war. Syria was the subject of dispute and the field of conflict. The Sultan declared his rebellious vassal deposed; and all Europe saw that it was likely Mohammed would respond by annihilating his master. To prevent the destruction of the Turkish empire, and consequent disturbance of the "balance of power," the diplomatists of the five great monarchies intervened. The utter defeat of the Turkish army by Ibrahim; the death, at that moment, of the old Sultan; the enlightened views of his youthful successor, Abdul Medjid; gave promise of a satisfactory settlement between

the two parties without foreign intervention. But a treacherous Turkish admiral carried over the fleet under his command to Alexandria. Four of the five powers insisted upon its restoration, while France was believed to be secretly counselling its retention. After much tardy diplomatizing, the representatives of England, Russia, Austria, and Prussia, suddenly concluded a convention (July, 1840) without the assent of France. The convention required the surrender of Syria and the fleet, as the condition of Mohammed's retaining Egypt. Mohammed delayed, the young Sultan grew impatient, and Ibrahim was evidently preparing for the worst. A British fleet, under the command of Sir Robert Stopford, blockaded Alexandria and the Syrian ports; then bombarded Beyrout; and, finally, Commodore Napier captured St. Jean d'Acre\* (November the 3rd), and drove Ibrahim's forces out of Lebanon. France was greatly incensed at these proceedings, and at the omission even of her name from the Queen's speech in which the convention was announced. M. Thiers was then prime minister; it was his rôle to inflame this bad feeling to the uttermost; Louis Philippe was as earnestly in favour of peace, and refused to sanction the increased armaments which his minister demanded, but, with the cunning that discoloured and warped all his actions, took advantage of the war-spirit to obtain money for advancing those fortifications of Paris, which it is now evident, he had contemplated from the first as a protection from no foreign foe. Mohammed was confirmed in the hereditary possession of Egypt, but was obliged to surrender Syria. The lawlessness which soon again prevailed in that interesting country, in contrast with the order, industry, and improvement, which Mohammed's vigorous rule everywhere secured, forced all who knew the facts to inquire on what principle tens of thousands of human lives were sacrificed, and the general cause of human advancement retarded, for the maintenance of arbitrary political arrangements.—But even on the ethics of diplomacy, the proceedings we have now to relate appear utterly indefensible. In 1838, the Chinese Government resolved upon the absolute suppression of the trade in opium, which was a principal article of traffic between our East India merchants and their people. Since 1834, English commissioners had been in communication with the Celestial authorities on the subject; and our Government were amply forewarned of the prohibition. Considerable delay appears to have taken place at Down-

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\* The fortress had long been deemed impregnable; and this attack upon it was the first occasion on which war-steamers were employed. There were four of these vessels in the action, and they proved by the rapidity of their movements, and the prodigious execution of the shells thrown from them, that a new device, almost as important as the invention of gunpowder, had been introduced into the "art of war." The fortress was all but destroyed in less than three hours. One of the shells thrown exploded a magazine, by which 2,000 Egyptians were killed. The total loss on the side of the assailants was only 60 killed and wounded.—It is estimated that, in all, 100,000 lives were lost, during the war.

ing-street in coming to a decision upon this information; but when the decision was made, it was that which could alone be expected from any civilized power—that if our merchants chose to act as smugglers, they must take the consequence. Before this decision was known at Canton, however, the Celestial Commissioner Lin had made a blockade of the factories; and our Superintendent, Captain Elliott, had delivered up 20,283 chests of opium, and written to the Governor-General of India for ships and troops. Notwithstanding Lord Palmerston's instructions, Captain Elliott felt that he was pledged to stand by the smugglers. In November, 1839, a fleet of Chinese war-junks was fired into by our vessels; and the next summer, the island of Chusan was taken, and the preliminaries of a treaty drawn out. When that treaty arrived in England, it was disallowed; and Sir Henry Pottinger sent out as a plenipotentiary.—It was with a very different people we had got embroiled in another quarter. Between our north-western frontier and Persia there lay the great plain of the Punjab, the mountainous Afghan territory, and a broad belt of desert. The Punjab was possessed by the Shieks, the most warlike race in India, and whose chief, Runjeet Singh, the "Lion of Lahore," had raised them to a high state of military discipline. The Afghan monarchy had been for some years disputed by several pretenders. One Dost Mohammed finally obtained the ascendancy, and the defeated Shah Sujah took refuge among the Shieks, who had profited by the dissensions to possess themselves of Attock, the key of India at the north-west, and the province of Peshawur. War then ensued between Dost Mohammed and Runjeet Singh; the unfortunate Shah taking refuge from both with the British, to whom also the Afghans applied for help against Runjeet, but without success. Dost Mohammed then turned to Persia for assistance. The young Shah (he had succeeded to the throne in 1834) eagerly responded, in the hope of obtaining the long-coveted fortress of Herat. But here British interests were supposed to be threatened. The court of Teheran was known to be in close communication with that of St. Petersburg; and a Persian garrison in Afghanistan seemed but the head of a Russian army advancing upon Hindostan. To strengthen suspicion, a Russian agent was found among the Afghans themselves, offering the assistance which the British refused. Notwithstanding the explicit assurance of the Russian representatives, and the failure of the Persians to capture Herat\* after a siege of eleven months, it was decided at Calcutta that we must possess ourselves of Cabul, or prepare to see the Czar follow the path of Alexander, of Tamerlane, and of Mahmoud. And it was resolved as a pretext for invasion to set up the imbecile Shah Sujah against the

\* It was held by an independent Afghan chieftain, who was readily given up by the other chiefs as the price of alliance with Persia. The defence was conducted by a young Englishman Lieut. Pottinger.

vigorous Dost Mohammed; besides sending a fleet into the Persian Gulf to draw off the Shah from Herat. An army was accordingly equipped at immense expense. Runjeet Singh refused to allow it a passage through Lahore; it had, therefore, to pass through Soinde, more to the south, and though the Ameers of that country had engaged to furnish supplies, the troops had to fight their way. Ghuznee was taken by storm; Dost Mohammed then quitted his capital; and on the 7th of August, 1839, Shah Sujah was borne into Cabul in triumph. The greater part of our army presently returned; but 8,000 Europeans and sepoy were left to winter in a cold and inhospitable region, and so irreconcilable were the population to the Shah and his protectors that continual reinforcements were necessary. By the end of 1840, we had 16,000 men in the country, and it had cost us £3,000,000 for a single year's occupation. The Governor-general, the Commander-in-chief, and all concerned, received thanks and honours from the Government at home; but the Duke of Wellington warned them that our difficulties had but commenced with conquest—sagacious journalists pointed out that we had but shown the dreaded Russians the way into our dominions—men of peace and of morality were protesting against these incessant wars, and these unscrupulous annexations. The event was about too well to justify these predictions—but the most apprehensive could not foresee the severity of the retribution that was just impending.

The miscellanea of this first Parliament of Victoria's reign, must now be enumerated.—The contested returns gave rise to such tumultuous scenes in the House of Commons that the Speaker threatened to resign; and Mr. O'Connell, having charged the Tory members of the committees with "foul perjury," was reprimanded on a vote of 226 to 197.—A motion by Sir W. Molesworth, condemning the Colonial policy of Lord Glenelg, was strenuously resisted by Ministers, but was defeated by a majority of only 29.—An important measure of Church-reform was carried in 1838—an act to correct the abuse of non-residence, by compelling the absentee (if not on professional duties, or sick) to forfeit certain proportions of his income. Two years later, an act was passed abolishing self-elected deans and chapters, and other sinecures; the revenues to be applied by the Ecclesiastical Commissioners to spiritual purposes.—A bill for giving the custody of children to their mothers, in cases of domestic dispute, at the discretion of the Equity judges, was passed after several rejections by the Lords. It was characterised by Lord Brougham as the first laying of the finger of improvement upon an edifice (the laws affecting women) which would not bear a touch.—Lord Denman introduced a liberal measure in respect to the administration of oaths; but was able to carry only the first clause, relieving Quakers and Moravians.—Numerous motions were made indirectly to enlarge the Reform Act, and others to mitigate the stringency of the Poor-law; but without success.—

Lord Brougham introduced two measures for the establishment of a system of national education ; but neither got beyond the first reading. In 1839, the annual grant was raised to £3,000. The management of the fund was then vested in a Committee of Privy Council ; which, with the mode of distribution, was the subject of long debates. The Primate carried in the Peers, and Lord Stanley proposed in the Commons, an address to the Queen, complaining that Dissenters were admitted to participation in the grant, and asking that the appointment of the Board be rescinded. Her Majesty's reply expressed a belief that the grants were expended without prejudice to the rights of conscience and the security of the Established Church.—The affair of Hansard and Stockdale occupied a great part of several sessions ; the sheriffs of London were compelled by the courts to levy an execution on the defendants, and were imprisoned by the House for contempt. Ultimately, a declaratory bill was passed.—The murder of the Earl of Norbury, an Irish landlord, and the incidental declaration of Mr. Drummond, the Assistant Secretary, "property has duties as well as rights," created much excitement, and long debates on the state of Ireland ; in consequence of which Lord Normanby resigned, and was succeeded by Lord Ebrington (afterwards Earl Fortescue). Lord Stanley introduced a bill for the better registration of voters, which was resisted with great violence by O'Connell as designed to diminish the suffrage ; but was carried through several stages by small majorities. Ministers introduced a rival measure ; but could not carry it, and the matter was in suspense when the Parliament was dissolved. — Mr. Abercrombie retired from the office of Speaker in the middle of the summer of 1839, on account of his declining strength, and was created Baron Dunfermline. Mr. Shaw Lefevre was elected to the vacant chair by a majority of 17 over Mr. Goulburn.—The slave-trade was kept before Parliament by Lords Brougham and Palmerston ; and they succeeded in carrying a bill for the suppression of the traffic carried on under the Portuguese and Brazilian flags.—In 1839, Rowland Hill's Penny Postage scheme was adopted by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, on the report of a committee, supported by multitudinous memorials from mercantile bodies, and carried through Parliament after many objections. For some weeks a fourpenny rate was charged, to permit the Post-office to extend its machinery ; the uniform penny rate came into operation on the 10th of January following.—During the recess, the Cabinet was reconstructed. The principal changes were, that Lord Normanby took the Home, and Lord John Russell the Colonial, Office ; Mr. Spring Rice was made Baron Monteagle, and Mr. T. Baring became Chancellor of the Exchequer.—The Queen's choice of a husband, in the person of Albert, second son of Ernest, Duke of Saxe Coburg, was heartily approved by Parliament and people ; but the Radicals and Conservatives in the Commons united in reducing the proposed allowance

to Prince Albert from £50,000 to £30,000. Neither the Queen nor the Prince was known to express dissatisfaction; and there were well-wishers to the royal nuptials even in the workhouses where husband and wife dwelt apart, and in the gaols where political prisoners pined for the Sovereignty of the People.

## CHAPTER VII.

ELECTION OF 1841—RICHARD CORDEN'S FIRST SPEECH IN PARLIAMENT—THE NEW MINISTRY—SIR ROBERT PEEL'S RESERVE—THE SLIDING-SCALE, NEW TARIFF, AND INCOME-TAX—SCENE BETWEEN THE PREMIER AND MR. CORDEN—COMPLAINTS IN PARLIAMENT OF THE LEAGUE—ITS REMOVAL TO LONDON—BUDGET OF 1845—THE "ORGANIZED HYPOCRISY"—DISEASE IN POTATOES AND DEFICIENT CORN HARVEST—DECLARATION OF THE WHIGS FOR TOTAL REPEAL—MINISTERIAL CRISIS—SIR ROBERT PEEL'S LAST BUDGET—HIS TRIUMPH AND FAREWELL TO POWER.

THE response of the constituencies to the appeal of the falling Ministry, was precisely what a dispassionate observer would have predicted. We have seen that the Reform Act gave an increased preponderance of power to the landed interest; and that they were sensitively hostile to the slightest tampering with their monopoly in the production of food. We have seen, too, that the Whigs had so alienated the middle, and angered the working classes, that their confidence could hardly be regained by the mere announcement of a new policy, however approved. But, indeed, the new policy was not universally popular even in the large towns. Several commercial "interests" were as fully persuaded as the agricultural, that every step in the direction of free-trade was a stride in the road to ruin; the working classes very generally believed the assurance of the anti-free-traders, that cheap bread would be accompanied by lower wages; the Chartists of all shades saw in the budget only a diversion of the middle classes from sympathy with their cause; men of all parties saw through the transparently worthless motive of the Ministers; and themselves had the folly to exasperate that feeling by grasping to the last at the fruits of office—even in the short interval between the dissolution and the elections, compelling Lord Plunket to vacate the Chancellorship of Ireland in favour of Sir John Campbell. The country was heartily a-weary of them; and the anti-corn-law leaders took care to let it be known that they supported the new measures quite irrespective of the men.—Under these circumstances, it was courageous in Lord John Russell to consent to stand for the City of London. The result was not very encouraging to his party. At the close of an exciting day, he was fourth upon the poll, coming in beneath two Conservatives and one Liberal, and only by a majority of seven

over another Conservative. Worse was to come. Lord Howick was thrown out of Northumberland, and Lords Morpeth and Milton rejected by the West Riding of Yorkshire for Messrs. Stuart and Denison. Even Westminster returned a Conservative (Captain Rous) in place of the Radical Sir De Lacy Evans; and O'Connell, the "Member for all Ireland," was defeated by Tories in the Irish capital. When all the returns had been made, it was evident that Ministers would be in a minority of 76.

Mr. Lefevre was unanimously re-elected Speaker. The Queen's speech—delivered, for the first time since her accession, by proxy—was almost controversial; not only commending to the attention of Parliament the laws affecting food, but suggesting reasons for their amendment. The Opposition preserved a respectful silence on this singular characteristic; but carried amendments to the Address—in the Lords by a majority of 72, in the Commons by 91—declaring that Parliament had no confidence in her Majesty's Ministers. The Queen replied that she would take immediate steps for the formation of another Ministry.

It was in this debate that Richard Cobden made his first speech in Parliament. The son of a Sussex farmer, he had become, while yet a young man, partner in a Manchester calico-printing firm; was conspicuous in the movements of the Anti-corn-law League; and had been returned for the borough of Stookport. He now stood up, on the 25th of August, 1841, to tell precisely the tale he had been sent to Parliament to tell. He intended, he said, to support the Address, because he stood there, not as a party man, but as a simple Free-trader; and the Address expressed hostility to the taxes on food. Those taxes were paid chiefly by the hard-working classes; for while the nobleman paid but a halfpenny in every hundred pounds of his income as a bread-tax, the man earning ten shillings a-week paid twenty per cent. Honourable gentlemen laughed at this—and he repeated it. He told them, further, that a Conference of the Ministers of Religion, 650 in number, of all denominations, had just been held in Manchester; that they had narrated to each other the social deterioration of their flocks—the abandonment of religious and educational institutions—and the misery they witnessed among the poor; that they had adopted a petition for the abolition of the bread-tax; and that they, and 1,500 other ministers, had agreed to pray every Sunday from their pulpits, that God would turn the hearts of the rulers of England to do justice. Some honourable gentlemen laughed again—most of them were half amused and half offended at this unusual style of speech, and tried to put the speaker down; but they were mistaken in their man—Richard Cobden was, from that time, a personal power in the House, and the type of a vast impersonal power in the country.

The new Ministry was quickly formed. There was no difficulty this



time about the Court ladies: the parting with their royal mistress, it is said, was a very affecting scene. Sir Robert Peel was, of course, First Lord of the Treasury. It was hoped he would also be Chancellor of the Exchequer, but that office he confided to Mr. Goulburn. The Duke of Wellington had a seat in the Cabinet; but held no office. Lyndhurst was once more Lord Chancellor. Aberdeen, Stanley, and Graham, were respectively Foreign, Colonial, and Home Secretary. Lord Wharncliffe was President of the Council; the Earl of Haddington, First Lord of the Admiralty; Lord Ellenborough, President of the Board of Control; and Earl Ripon, of the Board of Trade. Surprise and regret were felt that places were found for the Tory Duke of Buckingham, Sir H. Hardinge, and Sir E. Knatchbull. Among the non-Cabinet Ministers were three men of promise—Lord Lincoln, Mr. W. E. Gladstone, and the Hon. Sidney Herbert. Sir F. Pollock was Attorney, and Sir W. Follett, Solicitor-General. The Ministers who were members of the lower House were re-elected without the loss of a single seat.—In the middle of October, the Premier announced that he should reserve his measures for replenishing the finances and relieving the distress of the country, until the next session. The late Ministers objected to this course in a spirit which laid them open to severe retorts. Mr. Cobden spoke of another bad harvest, of 3,000 uninhabited houses in Stockport, hundreds unable to pay poor-rates, bankruptcy and distress everywhere, and demanded immediate relaxation of the corn duties. Mr. Fielden moved for withholding the £2,500,000 asked for as an instalment of supply, until after inquiry into the state of the country. In these discussions, the operation of the Poor-laws was mixed up with that of the Corn-laws; the term for which the Commissioners were originally appointed having expired. Mr. Ferrand now made his appearance, assailing the Poor-law and the manufacturers with more than O'Connell's recklessness of assertion and violence of vituperation. But Sir Robert had a word for all—it was not he who had brought the country into this condition; it was because he felt the solemn responsibility of his position he would not act without deliberation; particular allegations of distress should be inquired into, and relieved where necessary and possible;—so the £2,500,000 was voted, the Commissioners' term of office renewed, and the session closed on the 10th of November.—The League burst immediately into ubiquitous activity. Aggregate, district, and trade meetings were held; more lecturers sent forth, and more tracts distributed; £9,000 was raised by a Bazaar at Manchester; another Conference of Ministers assembled at Edinburgh; and a third Convention fixed to meet in London at the re-opening of Parliament.

The first indication of the Premier's intentions was given, near the end of January [1842], by the secession of the Duke of Buckingham from the Cabinet. The Queen's speech confirmed the expectation thus excited by

commanding the consideration of measures which would "improve the national resources, encourage the industry, and promote the happiness of the people." In a few days, 994 anti-corn-law petitions were presented; and on the 9th of February, the day appointed for the Premier's exposition, 600 delegates lined the approaches to the House. The Corn-laws were the topic of that night. The sliding scale was to be maintained, but with modifications that would relieve the consumer. At that, the country gentlemen felt re-assured—though rather bewildered by the information that they must be relieved from "the odium of too much protection"—but Lord John Russell taunted the Minister with "craven courage," Mr. Cobden deemed the misery of the country insulted, and a night or two later Sir Robert was burnt in effigy in several manufacturing towns. The next announcement was that of a tax on property and income for three years; at which every one was surprised, and many grumbled, but no one could suggest an alternative. On the 11th of March came that remarkable speech, in which "to buy in the cheapest, and sell in the dearest market," was enunciated as the principle of commercial action; and a tariff was exhibited, in which 750 articles were set down for reduction or exemption. Lord John Russell moved a resolution affirming the preferability of a fixed duty; Mr. Villiers in one House, and Lord Brougham in the other, moved for total repeal; Mr. Christopher, a county member, tried to raise the scale of duties,—but the measure was carried as proposed. The property and income-tax was submitted to, under protest against the inequity of confounding the two things; which was admitted, but overruled by the urgent necessity of repairing the Exchequer. The tariff was adopted, with only such alterations as its author had invited. A Queen's Letter, in aid of the collections that were being made for the relief of the most distressed localities, was also issued. Altogether, though Mr. Cobden exclaimed, at the close of the session, that "the country was drifting on to confusion, without rudder or compass," it was felt by men in a better position for judgment, that it had a pilot, sagacious, resolute, and large-hearted.—And events came with a merciful timeliness to the aid of the right reasoning, and the consolation of sad hearts. After another summer of almost incessant rain, the skies suddenly cleared up, a warm sun rapidly ripened the corn, and the news of a comparatively good harvest sent down the prices of wheat with a precipitation ruinous to speculators, and crippling farmers, but that was to the nation like the casting over of weights from a sinking ship. There came, at the same time, news of peace with China, on terms that would create a new market for English manufactures. From both of these events, the League orators derived new and vivid arguments; and to put them to the utmost use, the Council asked for £50,000, and offered prizes for essays specially adapted to the agricultural mind. The sum was raised; the essays were speedily forthcoming, and distributed by hundreds

of thousands. The winter was one of less distress than the former; but was unhappily distinguished by disturbances, which we will not interrupt our narrative by pausing to describe.

The Premier could meet Parliament on its re-assembling in 1843 with some degree of confidence; for although the long-continued stagnation of trade had seriously diminished the Customs branch of the revenue, there was now an actual surplus, and the quarterly returns gave signs of returning prosperity. But his feelings were preyed upon by the recollection of a very melancholy event—the assassination by a maniac, a few weeks previous, of his private secretary and friend, Mr. E. Drummond, in mistake for himself. Lord Howick moved for a committee of the whole House to consider the condition of the country; and on the fifth night of the debate on this motion, a painful “scene” occurred. Mr. Cobden had spoken with his accustomed fervour on the still deplorable state of things, and thrown on the Government the responsibility of its continuance. Sir Robert Peel declared, with an agitation that precluded, if his character had not done so, the suspicion of acting a part, that he was marked out for observation as personally accountable for public misfortunes. The minds of all his hearers instantly reverted to the shocking fate which he had so narrowly escaped, and with which Mr. Cobden seemed thus to be complicated. That gentleman was, of course, as greatly excited as Sir Robert; and could scarcely command himself sufficiently to explain that he had thought only of official, and not personal responsibility. The incident demands to be recorded, as showing how disturbed, at this time, were the master minds of the country; and how far were two patriotic men, working towards the same end, from understanding and appreciating each other.—Lord Howick’s motion was rejected by a majority of 115, in a house of 497. Mr. Ward repeated his motion for an inquiry into the alleged burdens on land; which was met by Mr. Bankes, the member for Dorsetshire, with an amendment condemnatory of the proceedings of the League. They had been prying, he complained, into the condition of the Dorsetshire peasantry; their emissaries were trying to stir up disaffection among the farmers towards their landlords; and he demanded of the Government protection from these malignant arts. This singular amendment was negatived without a division, and the motion again defeated. Mr. Villiers renewed his motion for total repeal, and Lord J. Russell his, for a fixed duty;—the former was rejected by a majority of 256, and the latter by 99. In these debates, some admissions of great value to the Free-traders were made by their opponents. Mr. Goulburn declared that free-trade principles were “true in the abstract;” Sir James Graham that they were “the principles of common-sense;” and Mr. Gladstone, that Protection was only a temporary necessity. Even Lord Stanley lent himself to their promotion, by introducing a set of resolutions permitting United States

corn to be imported into Canada on more favourable terms than formerly—whence it might be brought here as flour, a manufactured article.—The League had, by this time, removed its head quarters to London, and not only extended the range, but raised the character of its operations. The “Anti-bread-tax Circular” became the “League” newspaper; and free-trade in everything, as well as in corn, was made more prominent than hitherto in the writings and speeches of the leaders. On the 15th of March was held, at Drury-lane Theatre, the first of a magnificent series of meetings. For many Wednesday evenings in succession, from the boards of one or other of the great houses, the most eminent popular orators addressed densely-crowded and enthusiastically-applauding audiences. Mr. George Wilson, the Chairman of the Council, usually presided over these vast, but perfectly orderly assemblies. The speakers were seldom more than three in number, and admirably chosen. One evening, Mr. Cobden’s unrivalled exposition of economical principles, would be followed by the fervid oratory of Mr. Bright, and both by the highly-polished eloquence of Mr. W. J. Fox—on another, Dr. Bowring, Col. Thompson, and Mr. George Thompson, would put forth each his peculiar powers. As soon as Parliament closed, Mr. Cobden visited the Southern and Midland counties, challenging the Protectionist advocates to discuss with him the true interests of the farmers. In September, it was announced, that the League had spent upwards of £50,000, circulated nearly ten millions of tracts, and supervised the electoral registers in 140 boroughs; £100,000 was now asked for, and £13,000 was subscribed on the spot. Earl Spencer, Earl Fitzwilliam, and Mr. Jones Lloyd, the eminent banker, gave in, about the same time, their adherence; Mr. Bright was returned for Durham; and, in November, an election for the City of London fought on the express ground of free-trade, issued in the return of Mr. Pattison, the League candidate. Mr. Cobden now suggested the purchase of forty shilling freeholds, for the creation of county votes; and the suggestion was instantly converted into action. The opposite party concluded it was time they too should organize; and before the end of the year, the Agricultural Protection Society was holding dinners in country market-towns, at which murmured suspicions of Sir Robert Peel alternated with violent abuse of the League.

The session of 1844 was not fruitful in events or discussions bearing on this question; but early in 1845, it was seen that the battle was growing to the hottest. The Minister could now show a magnificent surplus—nearly £5,000,000—nevertheless, he asked for a renewal of the income-tax for three more years. The tariff of 1842, he said, had worked so well, reviving the great industrial interests of the country, and promoting the comforts of the people, that he proposed further to apply the principles on which it was based. He wanted £1,000,000 for the increase of naval force

rendered necessary by the growth of our commerce—£3,380,000 would be the loss of revenue from the duties he proposed to reduce or remove. He would reduce the sugar duties to the amount of £1,300,000—all the remaining export duties, of which coal was the chief, he would abolish—the import duties on cotton-wool, and 430 out of 813 articles, the raw materials of manufactures, he would lower or remit—and of excise duties, those on glass and auctions he would abolish. The scheme, as a whole, was clearly a boon to the manufacturing classes, and another stride in the direction of free-trade. As such it secured its author the hearty support of the Liberals, but staggered a large proportion of his old followers. The renewal of the income-tax was voted by a majority of 208 in a House of 318. Mr. Miles then moved that one million of the surplus should be appropriated to the relief of agricultural distress—complaints of which were very rife, a second and third good harvest having sent down the price of wheat to 45s. It was in this debate that Mr. Disraeli gained a position for himself, and gave expression to the sullen dissatisfaction of the Conservatives. Mr. Sydney Herbert had said, that for his own part, as a landholder, he would be ashamed to come “whining” to the Legislature for relief whenever times went hard. Mr. Disraeli retorted, the Minister “sends down his valet, who says, in the genteelest manner, ‘We can have no whining here.’” “Protection appears,” he continued, “to be in about the same condition as Protestantism in 1828. The country will draw its own moral. For my part, if we are to have free-trade, I, who honour genius, prefer that such measures should be proposed by the hon. member for Stockport, rather than by one who, through skilful parliamentary manœuvres, has tampered with the generous confidence of a great people and a great party. For myself, I care not what may be the result. Dissolve, if you please, the Parliament you have betrayed, and appeal to the people who, I believe, mistrust you. For me, there remains at least the opportunity of expressing thus publicly my belief, that a Conservative Government is an organized hypocrisy.” Mr. Villiers had fifty less than usual in the majority against his annual motion; and Lord John Russell avowed his readiness to give a four or five shilling fixed duty.—But the time for arbitrary majorities and party compromises was gone by. A mysterious agency, charged by Providence with the settlement of this great controversy, was even now at work. A disease in the potatoes had nearly destroyed the food of Ireland for the next year; and the rains which probably did this terrible mischief, had also rendered the harvest in both countries deficient. The frequent holding of Cabinet Councils showed that the attention of Ministers was fixed upon the portentous aspect of things, and indicated a difference of opinion among them. Six weeks this went on, the prices of wheat rising at every market-day, and alarming accounts arriving from Ireland. Lord Ashley, Mr. Escott, and Captain Rous, three

leading Conservative members, now declared that they would be no longer parties to the maintenance of the bread-tax. In the last week in November appeared simultaneously, though without concert, a letter from Lord John Russell to his constituents, expressing his conviction that the time was come for total and immediate repeal, and a subscription from Lord Morpeth to the funds of the League. It then came out, that Sir Robert Peel, unable to induce some of his colleagues to consent to a suspension of the corn-duties, had resolved on resignation. He went with that intent to the Queen, who was then residing at the Isle of Wight; and Lord John Russell was sent for in haste from Edinburgh. He failed to form a cabinet by the refusal of the new Earl Grey to sit with Lord Palmerston; and Sir Robert was consequently recalled. In a few days the "Times" announced that Ministers were prepared to propose the entire repeal of the corn-laws. Incredulity and indignation seized upon the agriculturists—the Leaguers rejoiced, but did not abate their labours. "Let there be no throwing up of caps," said Mr. Cobden, "till the victory is secure." A bazaar held in Covent-garden Theatre in the previous May, had yielded £25,000 to the funds of the League; and the Council had just asked for the enormous sum of £250,000. Lord Stanley (now elevated to the peerage) and Sir E. Knatchbull left the Ministry; and Mr. Gladstone succeeded to the Colonial Secretaryship. The aged Lord Wharnccliffe died at this critical moment, and the consequent removal of his son, Mr. S. Wortley, from the Commons, opened a vacancy in the representation of the West Riding; to which Lord Morpeth was re-elected without opposition. About the time of the re-opening of Parliament, two remarkable meetings were held by the peasants of Wiltshire, on the road-side, and by candle-light, to talk over their sufferings, and petition for cheap bread. The premier constituency of Great Britain and this knot of wretched men and women, were uniting in the same demand.

Never was royal speech more eagerly expected, or heartily hailed, than that in which Queen Victoria, on the 19th of January, explicitly commended free-trade principles to the consideration of Parliament. In a few days, Sir Robert Peel had expounded his last budget—the abolition or reduction of duties upon several articles of food; the removal of the last remnant of protection from silk, wool, and cotton manufactures, and of some special burdens on agriculture; and the extinction of the corn-laws within three years. The agricultural representatives at once organized themselves into a party—"the great country party"—with Lord George Bentinck for leader, and Mr. Disraeli for rhetorician. The former was a member of the Portland family, founded by a Dutch retainer of William the Third; was in his youth private secretary to Canning, who had married a sister of the Duchess of Portland; had for eighteen years represented the family borough of King's Lynn, voting with the Whigs till the Stanley

secession, but quite engrossed by the sports of the turf, in which he had gained pre-eminence and wealth, without incurring the slightest stain of dishonour. Mr. Disraeli was of Hebrew extraction, the son of a well-known literary gentleman, and himself an author of repute; he had started in political life as a Whig-Radical, then attached himself to the Conservative party, but appears to have taken personal affront from its leader; and was now member for Shrewsbury. The Protectionist Dukes of Northumberland and Newcastle did their best to embarrass the Ministry by depriving Lord Lincoln and Mr. Gladstone of their seats for South Notts and Newark; and Lord Ashley was also compelled to resign the representation of the county for which he sat. The Protectionists based their opposition on statistics to disprove any material deficiency of food; and on the doctrine that this Parliament having been elected to maintain Protection, to destroy it without an appeal to the country, was unconstitutional and treacherous. The first reading of the corn-duties bill was debated twelve nights, and carried by a majority of 93 in a house of 577. There were four nights more of dreary talk and violent personalities, on the second reading, terminating in a majority of 88. Progress in committee was obstructed to the very limits of parliamentary forms; and again, upon the third reading, the debate was three times adjourned. Finally, the bill was sent up to the Lords by a majority of 98 [327 to 229]; and though stubborn resistance was threatened, the Duke of Wellington once more 'served his Sovereign' by obtaining a majority of 39 on the second reading.—The country then fairly gave itself up to rejoicing over the establishment of free-trade in food, and the inauguration of a new era in the history of British commerce. The League, true to its professions, instantly dissolved its formidable organization. Its chairman was rewarded for his self-sacrificing labours by a vote of £10,000—Mr. Cobden, by a national testimonial of £80,000, and, subsequently, the representation of the West Riding of Yorkshire. And, Sir Robert Peel—the patriot statesman who had submitted to unmeasured abuse and harassing anxieties, in doing what he had gradually recognised as the great work of his life—what was *his* reward? Expulsion from office, the gratitude of his country, the approval of his conscience. On the second reading of a bill for the better protection of life in Ireland, eighty Protectionists united with the Liberals (who had voted against the first reading), and by a majority of 73 threw out the bill and the Minister. This was done avowedly to revenge Protection upon its supposed betrayer, and was, and is, defended as the execution of political justice. The only man of the party capable of giving dignity to its tactics, or the gloss of public virtue to the vulgar passions of faction, has thus described the infliction of its revenge. He is writing of the night of the division—June 26th—the very night on which the

corn-bill finally passed the Lords. The division took place at half-past one. About eighty Protectionists crossed the House and joined the Opposition. "It was not merely their numbers that attracted the anxious observations of the Treasury bench as the Protectionists passed in defile before the Minister to the hostile lobby. It was impossible that he could have marked them without emotion; the flower of that great party which had been so proud to follow one who had been so proud to lead them. They were men to gain whose hearts and the hearts of their fathers, had been the aim and exultation of his life. They had extended to him an unlimited confidence and an admiration without stint. They had stood by him in the darkest hour, and had borne him from the depths of political despair to the proudest of living positions. Right or wrong, they were men of honour, breeding, and refinement, high and generous character, great weight and station in the country, which they had ever placed at his disposal. They had been not only his followers but his friends; had joined in the same pastimes, drank from the same cup, and in the pleasantness of private life had often forgotten together the cares and strife of politics. He must have felt something of this while the Mannerses, the Somersets, the Bentincks, the Lowthers, and the Lennoxes, passed before him. And those country gentlemen, 'those gentlemen of England,' of whom, but five years ago, the very same building was ringing with his pride of being the leader—if his heart were hardened to Sir Charles Burrell, Sir William Jolliffe, Sir Charles Knightley, Sir John Trollope, Sir Edward Kerrison, Sir John Tyrrell, he surely must have had a pang when his eye rested on Sir John Yarde Buller, his choice and pattern country gentleman, whom he had himself selected and invited but six years back to move a vote of want of confidence in the Whig Government, in order, against the feeling of the Court, to instal Sir Robert Peel in their stead."\* No doubt the vanquished victor was heart-stricken at this sight, and announcement that presently followed—no doubt, though desirous of release from the consuming toils of power, he would have preferred another method of retirement. But he had his consolation, and he did not conceal it. When he had given up the seals of office, he rose for the last time in his accustomed place, and closed a review of his services under four sovereigns with these memorable words:—"I shall leave a name execrated by every monopolist, who, professing honourable opinions, would maintain protection for his own individual benefit; but it may be that I shall be sometimes remembered with expressions of good will in the abodes of those whose lot it is to labour and earn their daily bread by the sweat of their brow. I trust my name will be remembered by those men with expressions of good will when they shall recruit their exhausted strength

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\* Mr. Disraeli's Political Biography of Lord George Bentinck.



with abundant and untaxed food—the sweeter because no longer leavened with a sense of injustice.” A multitude, bare-headed, escorted him to his home that night, and gave confirmation to the words of an old and faithful opponent (Mr. Hume), “No one ever left power carrying with him so much of the sympathy of the people.”

## CHAPTER VIII.

QUESTIONS CONTEMPORARY WITH FREE-TRADE—CHARTISM; THE COMPLETE SUFFRAGE UNION—A SECOND NATIONAL PETITION—DISTURBANCES IN THE MIDLAND AND NORTHERN COUNTIES—AND IN WALES—THE HUMANITARIANS IN PARLIAMENT; “YOUNG ENGLAND” AND LORD ASHLEY—ECCLESIASTICAL MATTERS; DISRUPTION OF THE SCOTCH CHURCH—THE DISSENTERS AND THE FACTORY EDUCATION BILL—ANTI-STATE-CHURCH CONFERENCE—MAYNOOTH ENDOWMENT—DISSENSIONS IN THE ESTABLISHMENT—IRELAND; THE REPEAL AGITATION—THE MONSTER MEETINGS—TRIAL, IMPRISONMENT, AND LIBERATION OF O’CONNELL—“YOUNG IRELAND”—CONCILIATORY MEASURES—MISCELLANEA OF THE PEEL MINISTRY—CHINA—BORNEO—AFGHANISTAN—CONQUEST OF SCINDE—SHIEK INVASIONS, AND ANNEXATION OF THE PUNJAB.

EVENTS do not march in single column. The great movement to whose history we have devoted an entire chapter, did not suspend, though it certainly dwarfed, the progress of other great questions towards the goal of legislative decision. Chartism—the claim of the individual to political existence, independent of social accidents—was not voluntarily put in abeyance. Anti-state-churchism—the claim of the individual for religious independence of society—raised itself from an underlying into an organic and aggressive principle. And Humanitarianism—the claim of the compassionate on behalf of the unfortunate—advanced from the narrow spheres of private action, to constitute the bond of a new political connexion.

For some time after the unhappy affair at Newport, the physical-force section of Chartists lowered their movement into one of obstruction, and gained for it further odium by disturbing, and very frequently breaking up, anti-corn-law and other meetings. The leaders of the other order of Chartists emerged from prison with a deeper conviction than before of the futility, if not criminality, of appeals to force. Lovett and Collins had jointly written in their confinement a book entitled, “Chartism, a New Organization of the People;” and they applied themselves, immediately on their liberation, to the re-establishment and extension of the associations, as much educational as political, described in that volume. Vincent\* had

\* He had been taken from Monmouth goal in the eighth month of his imprisonment, to stand a second trial; the result of which was a sentence to another year’s imprisonment. He was shortly afterwards removed to London, and again to Oakham. Serjeant Talfourd, who had

addressed from his prison an earnest exhortation to working-men on behalf of temperance, self-culture, and obedience to the laws. These and other circumstances rekindled the sympathy for Chartism which had been felt by a large portion of the middle-classes, and determined some who believed that Parliamentary Reform must precede free-trade in food to attempt a re-organization of the movement. Accordingly, a conference was held at Birmingham, in April, 1842, at the summons of Mr. Sharman Crawford, M.P., and Mr. Joseph Sturge, to effect a reconciliation between the middle and working classes, and to promote, by legal and peaceful means, the abolition of class legislation. The conference issued in the formation of a National Complete Suffrage Union. This association included everything of Chartism but the name; and that the working men generally would not give up—they seemed to love it the more for the opprobrium that scared others from its adoption. Simultaneously with the Birmingham Conference, a second National Convention assembled in London. In that assembly Mr. Feargus O'Connor held undisputed predominance; and the effect was seen in the reverse of the respect inspired in Parliament and the public by the former Convention. Another National Petition was got up—even twice the bulk of the former. It was carried to the House in procession, on the 2nd of May. It was too large for the doorways, and was therefore hastily divided into five pieces, which were rolled up to the Speaker's table by detachments of Radical members. Mr. Duncombe stated that it bore 3,500,000 signatures; that it prayed for the enactment of the five points of the Charter, for relief from the burden of the National Debt and the Established Church, and for the repeal of the union between Great Britain and Ireland. The honourable member further stated that 100,000 of the petitioners were members of associations, 600 in number, and to which each member subscribed one penny a week, for the promotion of the objects prayed for; and he moved, as they had requested him, that the petitioners be heard by counsel at the bar. Among the forty-nine members who supported this motion was Mr. Roebuck; but he was careful to distinguish between the petition and the petitioners—the former he described as an inflammatory, trashy production, the work of a “cowardly demagogue,” for whom he had too much contempt to name him. The Government and the Whig leaders, accepting this description of the petition and its author, asked what but compassion was to be felt for the three million of petitioners; and the motion was rejected by a majority of 238. During the summer, numerous meetings were held on the Lan-

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held the government brief against him, brought his case before Parliament as one of peculiar hardship, and procured a mitigation of the rigour with which he had been treated. He was released two months before the expiration of his second term of imprisonment.

cashire moors, chiefly on Sundays ; but there was nothing like the monster gatherings of 1838 and '39. In July, there were riots among the Leicester stockingers and the Dudley nailers. On the 4th of August, there broke out, at Ashton-under-Lyne, disturbances which extended all over Lancashire, Cheshire, Staffordshire, Warwickshire, and Yorkshire, into Scotland, and Wales. They generally originated in strikes or in attacks on workhouses ; but as quondam Chartists were heard to harangue the mobs before or at the time of the outrages, and as resolutions for the Charter were mixed up with proceedings of all kinds, the whole of the disturbances contributed to discredit Chartism with the unreflecting and timid classes. Three special commissions were issued, and large batches of prisoners were sentenced to transportation or imprisonment ; among the latter, one who has since distinguished himself as a poet and lecturer—Thomas Cooper, who was convicted on one of several indictments, and suffered nearly three years' confinement in Stafford Gaol.—In Wales, however, the disturbances originated in causes very remote from Chartism, and took a very ludicrous shape. The farmers of Caermarthenshire and Pembrokeshire had complained since 1833 of a system of turnpikes then commenced, and which became very oppressive. As there was no appeal but to the possessors of these tolls, or to the inaccessible authority of Parliament, these simple people determined themselves to remove the obnoxious barriers ; and, Bible-readers as they were, found a text that served to sanction and designate the enterprise—“ And they blessed Rebekah and said unto her, Thou art our sister ; be thou the mother of thousands of millions, and let thy seed *possess the gate* of those which hate them ” (Genesis xxiv. 60). In a few nights, turnpikes disappeared throughout a whole county, and, if rebuilt, were again destroyed. To all inquiries after the destructives, no reply could be got but a reference to “ Rebecca and her children.” When the military were brought upon the scene, they sometimes caught sight of a troop of flying horsemen, obedient to a figure dressed in bonnet and shawl ; but could neither preserve the gates nor lay hands upon the depredators. But at last the matter got beyond a joke. Toll-keepers were burnt in their beds, or shot at their gates. The war upon turnpikes was becoming a war upon landlords—and when prisoners were taken in the act, juries could not be got to convict. Proclamations were therefore issued peremptorily summoning all good subjects to the vindication of law ; troops were poured into the Principality ; and a special commission was sent down. The judges were very merciful in their awards ; and were followed by commissioners of inquiry, upon whose report the causes of outrage were removed. Of all the insurrections we have had to record, this of “ Rebecca and her children ” was alone successful.

The Humanitarians in Parliament were of two classes—the sentimental

and the practical; though the distinction usually disappeared in action. Lord John Manners was the type of the former—Lord Ashley (now the Earl of Shaftesbury) of the latter. Lord John's school was known as "Young England." It consisted principally of the scions of noble houses, and of gentlemen who concealed a lower birth beneath literary distinctions. Their politics seemed a blending of ultra-Toryism with Chartism—for while they held in utmost reverence territorial aristocracy, contemned commerce and manufactures, and were the most arrogant or submissive of Churchmen, they acknowledged brotherhood with the poorest, and patronisingly fraternized in feasts and sports with peasants and factory operatives. Lord Ashley did not affect these mediæval follies; but it was in something of their spirit that, overlooking the wretchedness and vice that abounded on his paternal estates, he set about investigating the condition of the manufacturing population, and became an indiscriminate assailant of the employers. But his services to humanity as much o'ertopped his errors, as his goodness of heart was beyond impeachment. In 1842, he made an appalling disclosure of the condition of our subterranean population; showed that the most painful and revolting labour of our mines and collieries was performed by women and children; and carried a bill for the prohibition of female and infant employment in those works, and the appointment of inspectors. Early in the next session, he made a statement—probably exaggerated, but yet mournfully true—of the lack of religious and general knowledge, both in manufacturing and rural districts. Sir James Graham, the Home Secretary, therefore introduced a measure which, besides limiting the time of labour for factory children to six hours and a half per day, provided for the establishment of schools for their instruction. The Dissenters, for reasons stated in another paragraph, opposed these clauses with their whole force, even when the bill had been modified and re-introduced; and the educational clauses were necessarily abandoned. During the next session, there were long debates, and several critical divisions, on amendments by Lord Ashley upon a Government bill for fixing the hours of labour for adult factory operatives. The Government and the Economists were either against any interference, or strenuously objected to less than twelve—Lord Ashley, supported by the whole of the agricultural and many of the liberal members, and shoals of petitions from the operatives, demanded the limitation to ten hours, but ultimately consented to eleven, for three years. In the next session, he procured an extension of this act to a class of operatives not at first included; and carried a bill for promoting the better care of lunatics.

Scotland kept the lead in the prosecution of ecclesiastical controversies to political issues. The demand for Church extension had but overlaid a previous and fundamental question, which was destined to rive the Kirk itself in twain. The statesmen of Queen Anne's time thought they

had quieted the Church for ever, when they passed an act removing the appointment of pastors in a multitude of parishes from spiritual to civil courts. They apparently succeeded; but it was at the cost of the Church's vitality. A principal cause of the growth of Dissent was, that in numberless instances the minister, though unexceptionable in "life, literature, and doctrine," as the Presbytery had still the right to require, was very unacceptable to the people. In 1834, the General Assembly adopted a rule giving the congregation a veto on the appointment of the lay-patron; and legal authorities gave an opinion that this was compatible with the Act of 1711. Some of the patrons, however, were disposed to try the question. One of them was Lord Kintoul, who, in 1839, presented a Mr. Young to the parish of Auchterarder. The congregation vetoed the appointment. The Presbytery were required to take him on trial, and they refused to do so, taking their stand on the Rule promulgated by the Assembly. The Court of Sessions and the House of Lords overruled the objection. Thus the civil and the spiritual powers were placed directly at variance. The Assembly did not contest the right of the court over the temporalities of the ministry, but surrendered the stipend, manse, etc.; with which Mr. Young and his patron were content. Of course, things could not rest there. Either by design or accident, the Presbytery of Strathbogie became the decisive scene of the struggle commenced at Auchterarder. A Mr. Edwards was appointed minister of a parish in which only one communicant could be found to sign the "call." The Presbytery, as ordered by the Assembly, presented another minister; but Mr. Edwards obtained an interdict from the Court of Session. Reduced to the dilemma of disobeying either the civil or spiritual powers, the Presbytery preferred, as had been foreseen, to obey the civil. The seven ministers composing the Presbytery were summoned to the bar of the General Assembly, and, on the motion of Dr. Chalmers, deposed, and their parishes declared vacant. The deposed ministers appealed to Parliament, and obtained an interdict from the Court of Session against the preachers appointed by the Assembly. For two years, a violent agitation reigned throughout Scotland, the partisans of the intrusionists and non-intrusionists sometimes coming to blows. In the session of 1843, Lord Aberdeen, representing the former, introduced a measure which might have been effective two or three years before, as it armed the Presbytery with the power of rejecting ministers nominated by lay-patrons; but as it laid down no principle of alliance between the Church and State, it was powerless to affect the great controversy which had arisen. The bill passed slowly through very thin houses; and before it became law, the schism had issued in secession. In reply to a memorial from the Assembly to the Government, Sir James Graham had written, "Her Majesty's Ministers now understanding that nothing less than the total

abrogation of the rights of the Crown and of other patrons will satisfy the Church, are bound with firmness to declare that they cannot advise her Majesty to consent to the grant of any such demand." The Assembly appealed from the Ministry to Parliament; but the Commons decided, after a languid debate of two nights, by 211 to 76, against considering their petition. The heads of parties were assured that the number of seceders would not exceed half-a-dozen. Nothing but the event could make them believe in the renunciation of status and livelihood for conscience sake. The demonstration was given on the 18th of May, 1843. The Assembly was to meet that day in St. Andrew's Church, Edinburgh. Dr. Welsh, the Moderator of the former Assembly, took the chair, as customary; but instead of proceeding to business, read a declaration of secession, on the part of himself and 168 of his brethren, from the Kirk of Scotland. The seceders then rose, took their hats, and walked in procession, headed by the Moderator and Dr. Chalmers, and accompanied by applauding spectators, to a hall at Canon Mills, where 300 more seceding clergy, and a large body of laymen, had assembled. They there constituted the Free Church of Scotland, declaring that they seceded from alliance with the State, not because they objected to that alliance in itself, but because the State had sought to degrade and enslave the Church. They appealed to the voluntary principle, not willingly, but from compulsion. It yielded them, however, a hearty response. Notwithstanding the depth of commercial depression, £300,000 were subscribed in a few months. For some time, the great landowners refused sites for the fabrics of the Free Church. The preachers were compelled to hold forth, like their Divine Master, by the highways, in the fields, on the hill-side, or from a boat moored at the water's edge; the people emulated their Covenanting forefathers in the fortitude with which they braved summer's heat and winter's cold, in attendance on the "ordinances and means of grace;" and it was not till a question of freedom of worship was becoming one of the right of property in land, that the Athols and Sutherlands would permit the erection of free kirks upon their estates. Among the crowd that looked with throbbing heart and tearful eye upon the procession from St. Andrew's Church to Canon Mills was Lord Francis Jeffrey. He is said to have exclaimed, "Thank God I am a Scotchman! in no other country could such a sight be seen." It was, indeed, a sublime spectacle, that of five hundred men forsaking their churches and homes—rending themselves from an institution they had been bred to venerate and love; and at whose table they and their children fed—a spectacle to rebuke the politician's indifference to abstract principles, and the worldling's scornful disbelief of exalted motives—the only multitudinous testimony to the perennial power of religious faith, and the undiminished capacity of the human

heart for heroic action, this age had received. But it was more than that. It was a solemn warning to all, that the relation of the Church to the State must be no longer undefined; that the struggle *with* the Church for toleration, had risen into a struggle *by* the Church for the liberty of self-government; that the religious could not much longer endure the anomaly of having their spiritual affairs directed by men who might be irreligious or infidel. And this, that was a sound of perplexity to many, was a trumpet-call of hope and activity to others.—It was in this year 1843, that the English Dissenters resisted and threw out the Government Factory Education Bill. Their general ground of opposition was, that it was proposed to give the clergy and members of the Church of England an amount of influence over the schools to be established that would render them, in fact, a supplementary Establishment, and inevitably destroy the educational apparatus that had been so laboriously reared. In this view there was almost perfect unanimity among the several denominations, and consensaneous action by the various organizations, of Dissent. The British and Foreign School Society, and the Sunday School Union, not exclusively Dissenting institutions, joined in opposition. The House was flooded with petitions: one from the City of London was signed by 55,000 persons. In these discussions, the union of Church and State was naturally a prominent and exciting theme.—In the spring of 1844, a conference of 750 delegates, representing a large and vigorous section of the Nonconformists of the United Kingdom, was held in London; and originated an Anti-State-Church Association, designed to operate directly for the dissolution of the alliance between any ecclesiastical institution and the civil power.—In 1845, an excitement rivalling that of 1843 was produced by the proposal of the Government to increase and perpetuate the annual grant to Maynooth College. The opposition to this project was based on two opposite principles, and conducted by two very distinct parties—but both principles and parties were confounded, to a considerable extent, by politicians and the general public. Evangelical Churchmen objected vehemently to the showing of favour to what they designated an idolatrous Church—Dissenters, to further grants of public money for any religious purpose whatever. The latter embodied this principle in a resolution moved by Mr. Sharman Crawford as an amendment on one of the stages of the Government measure; but it received only two votes (those of Mr. Duncombe and Mr. Wakley, Messrs. Crawford and Hindley being tellers). The opposition was stimulated by the avowed disposition of the leaders of both political parties to supplement this measure with one for the endowment of the whole Roman Catholic priesthood in Ireland.—And while events were thus laying a giant grasp upon the pillars of the English and Irish Church Establishment—while Presbyterianism was reproaching

Episcopacy with Erastian subservience to the secular arm, and Nonconformity was advancing to the logical confines of the principle from which Puritanism started—a pitiable exhibition of disunion was being made by the Church itself. The “Tracts for the Times” were suppressed by the Bishop of Oxford at Tract XC.—Dr. Pusey was sentenced to two years’ silence (1843)—Mr. Ward was degraded by the University of Oxford, and Mr. Oakley censured by the Court of Arches, for avowing that the Thirty-nine Articles may be subscribed in a non-natural sense—the dioceses of Exeter and London had become fiercely excited by the practice of Romish observances by many of the clergy—six colonial bishoprics were instituted, and a Conservative Government had to resist the demand of the High Church party for more bishops at home.—It was thus that antagonistic principles were progressing, with an apparently disordered, but really harmonious step, to the ground of clear and decisive conflict.

When Sir Robert Peel foretold that, in the event of his taking office, Ireland would be his chief difficulty, he probably had in mind the ecclesiastical and social condition of that country, and could scarcely have foreseen the degree in which O’Connell would aggravate those normal obstacles to good government. But it is not just to the great demagogue to represent his motives as simply factious. Before the Whigs had gone out he told them they had lost altogether the hearts of the Irish people; and nothing but the loud cry for repeal should thenceforth be heard. He, no doubt, believed sincerely that only indolent neglect was to be expected from the one party, and ruthless coercion from the other, in the absence of an agitation which could neither be overlooked nor suppressed. Early in 1841, the exclusion of British manufactures from Ireland was attempted; the enrolment of two million repealers, subscribing a shilling per annum each, was commenced; meetings a hundred thousand strong were held; and before the end of the year, there was “but one voice upon the breeze of heaven—one shout from the Giant’s Causeway to Cape Clear, from Connemara to the Hill of Howth—hurrah for repeal!” But it was not till 1843 that the agitation became really formidable, from the adhesion of the entire Catholic priesthood, and a large proportion of the gentry and middle classes to the movement; the multitudinous assemblages known as “monster meetings;” the very ambiguous and sometimes inflammatory language held by the leaders; and the large sums collected, including some hundreds of pounds from America. The Government contented itself with displacing magistrates who attended repeal demonstrations, and obtaining from Parliament an act compelling the possessors of arms to register or forfeit them. In August, the greatest of the monster meetings was held at the Hill of Tara, at which the ancient Kings of Ireland were crowned. O’Connell was there presented, amidst the acclamations of a concourse



variously estimated at from half a million to two millions of persons, with a cap shaped like a crown; and he solemnly promised to have an Irish Parliament College Green before the close of the year. About the same time, he gave the first intimation of the method by which this Parliament was to be obtained—a scheme of representation, which the Queen was to be requested to call into existence by proclamation. Meanwhile, the people were desired to submit their causes of litigation to arbitration courts, nominated by the repeal leaders; and the scheme was acted upon so extensively, that for some time the ordinary tribunals were nearly deserted; not without some incidentally beneficial results. Another, and professedly the last, of the monster meetings, was appointed to be held on Sunday, October the 8th, at Clontarf, about three miles from Dublin. Either from private information, or from alarm at the special arrangements that were made for this occasion—the talk of mustering and marshalling of “teetotal troops” and “Repeal cavalry”—and at the proximity of this exciting display to the metropolis, the Viceroy issued on the previous day a proclamation warning all persons to abstain from this and similar gatherings. O’Connell instantly issued his proclamation, desiring the people to stay at home; and stationed persons on the roads leading to Clontarf to turn back parties on their way thither. It was supposed that the Repeal leaders would be immediately arrested; but it was not till the 14th that O’Connell, his son John, and eight of their coadjutors, were held to bail on charges of conspiracy and sedition. Preliminary proceedings commenced on the 2nd of November, in the Court of Queen’s Bench; and were protracted to the 8th of January, when “a true bill” was found. Then fierce discussions arose among the counsel respecting the composition of the jury. Either from unfortunate accident or by disgraceful design, two slips of the list of persons liable to serve, containing sixty-three names, were missing; and the prosecutors challenged nearly every Catholic presented by the sheriffs. On the 15th, O’Connell was conducted to the Court, in state, by his successor in the mayoralty of Dublin. Twenty-four days were consumed in the examination of witnesses and the speeches of counsel—who enjoyed a much larger licence for declamation and buffoonery than would have been given them in an English Court. On the night of Saturday, the 10th of February, the jury delivered a verdict for the Crown, but technically imperfect; and they were consequently locked up till Monday morning. They then declared O’Connell guilty on all the eleven counts, and the other defendants on most of them. O’Connell immediately gave notice of an appeal; and issued an address to the people concluding with the words, “Keep the peace for six months, or at the most twelve months longer, and you shall have the Parliament in College Green.” As he was again released on bail, he came over to England, and appeared at one of the League

meetings in Covent-Garden Theatre, where—and in several towns of the provinces—he was received with tremendous enthusiasm. It was not that Englishmen were insensible to his many personal and political vices; but they believed him sincere to the last in his patriotism, and especially resented even the appearance of a packed jury, and the judicial doctrine of constructive conspiracy—on which ten men had been made responsible for each other's speeches, writings, and acts. Judgment was not pronounced till the 30th of May. O'Connell was then sentenced to a year's imprisonment, and a fine of £2,000—the others (with the exception of the Rev. Mr. Tierney, who escaped altogether) to nine months' imprisonment, and a fine of £50 each—and all were bound over in heavy recognizances to keep the peace for seven years. The convicted were allowed to choose their place of imprisonment, and they selected the Richmond Penitentiary, near Dublin. A writ of error was forthwith taken out, and transmitted to London. The House of Lords referred it to the twelve judges. They declared unanimously that six of the eleven counts were informal; but a majority were of opinion that the informality did not vitiate the proceedings. The question, therefore, returned to the peers for decision. Some of the lay lords were with difficulty dissuaded from the indecency of voting on a matter that belonged to the class of cases invariably decided by the learned lords. They were dissuaded, however; and on the 6th of September, Lords Denman, Cottenham, and Campbell, voted that the judgment of the Courts below be reversed; only Lord Brougham voted the other way, and the judgment was reversed accordingly. The triumph for O'Connell was great—but it was much greater for the cause of good government. The event vindicated his reputation as a lawyer, one element of his power over the Irish people—but it exploded another and a malignant element of that power, the popular belief that the Saxon could not do justice to Ireland. He was taken from prison in a triumphal procession—of such length, that it was two hours in passing over one spot. Monster meetings, repeal dinners, and the weekly gatherings at Conciliation Hall, were resumed; but there was even less heartiness and integrity in the leaders of the agitation than before. When the money had been subscribed for the discharge of the enormous law expenses, it seemed as if the "great beggarman" would be glad to find any excuse for silence. His face, so familiar and beloved, so long radiant with health and humour, now gave the lie to his favourite boast, "My bosom's lord sits lightly on his throne." He caught eagerly at a suggestion which was put forth by Mr. Joseph Sturge, that the English Radicals would unite with him in procuring a local legislature for Ireland, and rendering the union only federal. He talked much of social evils and their remedies, of rents and bankrupt landlords; and was deeply wounded by the "Times" Commissioner's exposure of the fact that he was himself a middleman, and

his tenantry in as bad a condition as any in Ireland. Finally, the "Young Ireland" party arose—of which the "Nation" newspaper was the organ, and highly-gifted, enthusiastic young men the leaders—who, while preserving respect for O'Connell, treated his family and paid adherents to unmeasured invective, and incited the people, by poetry and rhetoric, to seek for themselves the independence that had so long been promised. Mr. Smith O'Brien, a Protestant gentleman of ancient family, and M.P. for Limerick, whose adhesion to the Repeal movement at the moment of O'Connell's conviction was hailed as more than compensating for that discouragement, put himself at the head of this party; and painfully ludicrous were the scenes of alternate rupture and reconciliation between the old and new leader. When, by the downfall of the Peel Ministry, O'Connell was restored to the county magistracy, "Young Ireland" openly accused him of surrender—his career was, in fact, at an end; and we shall no more meet with his name, but in the list of the mighty dead.—The Minister from whom nothing but coercion was expected for Ireland, disappointed that, with many other, unjust anticipations. In 1843, Sir Robert Peel appointed that Commission of inquiry into the tenure of land which goes by the name of its President, the Earl of Devon, and whose report was the basis of all hopeful legislation for Ireland. It was from motives of conciliation, though inevitably tending to the worst species of corruption, that the change of the annual grant of £9,000 to Maynooth College into a permanent endowment of £26,360, with a special grant of £30,000, was effected. It was in a spirit of enlightened benignity that the Charitable Bequests Act—combining Catholic with Protestant ecclesiastics in the administration of religious trusts—was passed [1844]; and the obsolete penal laws against Romanists obliterated from the statute-book which they disgraced and encumbered. The three Colleges which were established by an act of 1845, for the liberal education of Irish youth, irrespective of religious tenets, was a legitimate advance upon the school system that had been found to work so well among the poorer classes. Nor can we fasten upon the Peel Ministry the charge of arbitrariness in its government of Ireland, from the introduction of that measure on which the Cabinet was overthrown, seeing that the Whigs had uniformly resorted, in similar circumstances, to measures differing not at all in character, and but little in degree. It is the least conspicuous, but one of the most substantial merits of Sir Robert Peel's administration, that though vanquished by, he pioneered the way to the removal of, the "chief difficulty" of nearly every Government whose deeds we have passed in review.

We cannot yet dismiss this eventful period, 1841 to '46.—In the second session of the Parliament some very singular and instructive scenes arose out of the severe contests of the General Election. Corruption had been so extensively practised, that numerous compromises had to be made in

order to avoid disclosures damaging to both sides before committees of the House. Mr. Roebuck resolved on exposing and defeating their transactions. He formally questioned the members for Reading, Nottingham, Lewes, Penryn, and Harwich, as to the truth of certain rumours. The answers given by these honourable gentlemen were varied with their temperament and exact position; but were all of such a nature that the Ministry could not refuse a secret committee of investigation; on whose report, Lord Chelsea, member for Reading, was refused the stewardship of the Chiltern Hundreds, as a warning to others that they would not be allowed to complete their bargains with the connivance of the Government; and Lord John Russell carried a measure designed, like many others, to diminish electoral corruption.—The Poor Law Act of 1833 was renewed, with some modification, for five years; further amendments—relating chiefly to bastardy, temporary shelter, and education—were promised, and effected in the course of two or three sessions.—After several attempts by Serjeant Talfourd and Lord Mahon, a copyright law was passed, securing to authors property in their works for life, and to their heirs for seven years.—In the session of 1844, Mr. Sharman Crawford revived the ancient right of obstructing the voting of supplies until grievances are redressed. The honourable member moved, in good taste as well as perseveringly, a series of amendments in committees of supply, asserting the necessity of a “full, fair, and free representation of the people;” but he did not receive sufficient support either from within or without the House, to justify a repetition of the effort.—In the same session, a great sensation was created by the presentation of a petition from four persons—one of whom was Joseph Mazzini, the apostle of Italian Republicanism, and then, as now, an exile in London—complaining that their letters had been opened and read at the Post-office. Sir James Graham’s reply, admitting that this was true in respect to one of the petitioners, and justifying it on legal and political grounds, by no means calmed the excitement. For some weeks the Home Secretary was the object of terrible and almost universal obloquy—increased by the suspicion that the espionage had been practised at the desire of a foreign minister: everyone remembers the many amusing and sarcastic forms the public feeling took. But secret committees of both Houses reported that the power to open letters was undoubtedly vested in the Home Secretary, and had been confirmed in a statute of the present reign; that all Ministers within the recollection of living men had used the authority, and that Sir James Graham had been singularly scrupulous in its exercise. The best reply to the suspicions of truckling to foreign despotisms was given by a frank and liberal enlargement of the Alien Act.—The “religious public” were again excited by the passing of a measure called the Dissenters’ Chapels Bill, the object of which was the confirmation of congregations in

property held for twenty years. The necessity of some such measure was rendered apparent by a suit of fourteen years, respecting Lady Hawley's charity—an endowment made in the reign of Charles the Second to a Presbyterian congregation of that day, which had become Unitarian. The opposition arose from a notion that the bill was passed simply at the instigation and for the benefit of that body; it was supported by the statesmen and talented members of both parties, and carried by large majorities—the Bishops absenting themselves from the upper House, on the last division, as an impressive protest.—The Bank of England Charter being subject to modification at the end of ten years, was renewed, in 1844, on the following terms—the issue of notes to the value of £14,000,000 by the Bank of England, and £8,000,000 by the country banks, on public securities; the former having in store gold equal to the value of all paper in circulation beyond that amount; the gold brought in to be replaced by an equal amount in notes, and *vice versa*; and the Government to be enabled to authorize the Bank of England to issue notes to the amount withdrawn by the failure of any joint-stock bank. In the same year the three and a half per cents. were subjected to a reduction calculated to save the public £6,250,000 per annum for ten years, and after that £1,250,000 per annum.—In 1845, the Lord Chancellor introduced, and the House readily carried, a bill removing tests excluding Jews from certain municipal offices.—Mr. Bright obtained—as an auxiliary to the League movement, and an earnest of true friendship for the farmers—a committee on the Game Laws, which sat two sessions; its report exceeded all expectation in proofs of the mischiefs to tenants and demoralization to the peasantry of those laws, but the sporting interest was too strong to permit any practical result.—A considerable part of several sessions was occupied in legislating on railways. In 1840, they were placed under the control of the Board of Trade. In '44, an act was passed authorizing the regulation of their tolls and charges. In '46, nearly 600 railway bills had to be considered in committee, and the “battle of the gauges” was fought out—a controversy as to the width of roadway; which ended, not in the adoption of a uniform gauge, but a compromise of the difficulty.—The importance of systematic colonization was the subject of one set debate, introduced by Mr. Charles Buller; and the administration of colonial affairs, of many more. Our Australian and South African settlements not only asked in vain for self-government, but were flagrantly misgoverned. One Governor almost ruined South Australia by expending £155,000 while its revenue was only £30,000 a-year; the imperial treasury having to make up the difference. In New Zealand, Governor Hobson incurred debts to the amount of £68,000; his successor, Captain Fitzroy, spent £20,000 a-year in governing 15,000 people—this costly government by no means including protection from the natives.—Our relations with

France were threatened with disturbance by indignities and injuries put upon an English consul and missionary (Mr. Pritchard) at Tahiti, when the former power established a protectorate over that island; and by disputes arising out of the right of search mutually conceded by anti-slave-trade treaties: both questions were amicably settled by Lord Aberdeen on the one side and M. Guizot on the other; and the good feeling of the two nations was further exemplified by an interchange of royal visits. The King of Prussia (the reigning sovereign, who succeeded his father in 1840) came to England in 1842, to act as sponsor to the Prince of Wales. His visit had also a political and religious significance; the court of Berlin had scarcely adjusted its troublesome relations to the Pope, ere Germany was convulsed by the preaching of a new and larger reformation by Ronge, provoked by the exhibition of the Holy Coat at Treves. A less welcome visitor was the Emperor of Russia—not unwelcome, indeed, to the aristocracy; but against whom popular hatred was inflamed by the barbarities then proceeding in Galicia. The right of search and the boundary of Maine were questions that threatened for some time the preservation of peace with the great American republic; but happily peace was preserved; and it was one of the last, and most congenial, acts of Sir Robert Peel, as Premier, to announce the settlement, through Lord Ashburton's mission, of the long-pending Oregon difficulty, on terms that left room for cavil by the ill-blooded on both sides, but gave hearty satisfaction to the numerical and moral strength of England and the United States.

In a former chapter, we left Sir Henry Pottinger negotiating with the Chinese, and a British army in Cabul. It was twelvemonths after Sir Henry's arrival before peace was concluded; in that interval Chusan was retaken, and Amoy, Ningpo, and Nankin, captured. The records of these "operations" warrant us in describing this as a war not "with" but "upon" China. Our commanders must have felt deeply ashamed of their statements of killed and wounded—on our side a few "casualties" only, from arrows, or cannons grotesque but nearly harmless; while hundreds were killed at every discharge from our ranks or vessels. The Chinese proved themselves very simple in the "art of war,"—they had studiously sought, for ages, to unlearn it but they displayed a courage "after the high Roman fashion." If they ran away from men that seemed armed with infernal powers, it was to hasten home, and destroy their wives and children, to save them from the profanation of the victor's touch. The treaty ultimately effected, bound the Emperor to pay 21,000,000 of dollars (£4,375,000), for the expenses of the war; he had already paid 6,000,000 dollars (£1,250,000), for the confiscated opium. The island of Hongkong was also ceded to us; and it was distinctly stipulated, that in future communications, we should be regarded as on an equality with the Celestials. This last item may now create only a

smile ; but there can be no doubt that the strongest pretexts in defence of the war were grounded upon erroneous interpretations of Chinese language and usages. When Englishmen cheered the waggons that carried instalments of the twenty-one million of dollars through our streets—and when Parliament thanked the officers who had conducted the war to this conclusion—there was no better excuse for the exultation than vague declarations of insult, and hollow congratulations on the opening of China to British commerce, civilization, and religion. No one defended the smugglers for whose protection the war was commenced ; Government would give them only the six million of dollars, less than half the amount of their loss. And as to our having pioneered the Gospel of Peace, we had made our Christianity more hateful than our opium to the rulers and literati of the Celestial Empire.—About the time that our men of war were passing, at the request of Captain Elliott, from the Bay of Bengal to the Chinese seas, an Englishman, named Brooke, was cruising about these parts, in search of knowledge, wealth, or adventure. He contrived to establish himself on the north-west corner of the island of Borneo, and to obtain from the Sultan the Rajahship of Sarawak. In a few years, he returned to England, was received in the highest circles as a missionary of civilization, received knighthood, and was appointed Governor of Labuan, a little island, the cession of which to Great Britain he had also obtained from the Sultan. We shall have occasion again to notice the exploits of this unquestionably remarkable man.—The deposed Afghan, Dost Mohammed, fled from Cabul into Bokhara ; but finding there treachery instead of protection, gave himself up, and was sent to Calcutta. His removal from the scene did not pacificate his people. The amity of the chiefs could be secured neither by money nor chastisements. The death of Runjeet Singh threatened to let loose upon us the fanatical hatred of the Shieks, and raise a formidable enemy in our rear. The Commander-in-chief at Cabul (General Elphinstone) was enfeebled by age, and utterly wanting in decision. Sir Alexander Burnes, the author of the entire enterprise, was fatally blind to all portents and even deaf to friendly warnings of danger. Sir William Macnaghten, the Civil Envoy, was full of apprehensions, and anxious only to get back to Hindostan. The officers and men were either useless or disheartened. The former had their wives and families with them ; and the hardships they had undergone in getting there, indisposed them to abandon quarters which were comfortable, if secure. At a short distance from Cabul, on the road to Hindostan, was Jellalabad ; but between the two was a chain of mountain passes. When, in October, 1841, General Sir Robert Sale set out from Cabul to occupy Jellalabad for the winter, he had to fight these perilous defiles ; the country people had risen, under Akbar Khan, the second son of Dost Mohammed. On the 3rd of November, there was a rising at Cabul ; Sir

Alexander Burnes, and two other officers were killed in their house. All the difficulties of their position now burst upon our army. Their cantonments were at some distance, and separated by a river, from the fortress in which dwelt Shah Sujah; their defences were so badly constructed as to be at the mercy of the Afghan artillery; they had not even a storehouse of provisions within their entrenchments. Despatches were sent to Jellalabad for General Sale, and to Candahar for General Nott; but neither could leave their positions. The Envoy, with a small party, went out to treat with Akbar Khan on the 22nd, but never returned. Macnaghten and Captain Trevor were murdered on the spot appointed for the interview—the former by Akbar's own hand, and with a pistol presented him by Macnaghten; Captain Trevor had left a wife and seven children in the camp. Despite the murmurs of the officers and soldiers, the commanders renewed negotiations. Evacuation of Cabul and Jellalabad, with the surrender of the General, and the married officers and their families, as hostages, and of nearly all the artillery, were Akbar's terms for a safe conduct. To these degrading conditions the council of war would not assent—they believed it less perilous, as well as more honourable, to force the passes, with the women and children in their midst; but large sums were paid or promised for an escort. On the morning of the 6th of January, 1842, the army commenced a retreat to which there is no parallel in history. There were between four and five thousand soldiers, with twelve thousand camp followers, besides women and children. It was whispered along the ranks that Akbar had said only one man should clear the Khyber pass, and he should be set down there with his limbs lopped off, and a letter in his teeth, warning the "feringhees" (infidels, foreigners) never again to enter Afghanistan; and it was soon evident that the savage would, if he could, keep his word. The escort scarcely feigned to keep off the murderous, plundering bands that flocked like vultures to their prey. Only five miles were marched the first day; the mouth of the dreaded pass was not yet reached; and as the army bivouacked in the snow, they beheld the flames that consumed their cantonments, and probably the sick who had not cleared out. The next day, only four miles were made—hundreds had fallen by the way—at night, Akbar appeared, and negotiations were resumed. On the morning of the third day, the pass was entered—as its narrow paths were threaded, a slaughtering fire descended from rocks to which no shots would return—three thousand men were left dead—Lady Sale was wounded in the arm—and so desperate was the aspect, that all the women and children were consigned to Akbar, on the solemn promise of his protection. By the end of the fourth day, only twelve of the seventeen thousand men survived. The fifth and sixth days were consumed in negotiating or fighting with foes faithless and unpitying. On the seventh day (the 13th)



one man, Dr. Brydon, reached Jellalabad, on a pony ready to drop with fatigue—all the rest had perished or been taken back to Cabul. Among the latter, was the wretched Elphinstone, who died in his confinement, and the heroic Lady Sale. General Sale held out at Jellalabad, behind its mud walls, against cold, hunger, earthquake, and the enemy, till relieved on the 16th of April, by General Pollock; whose troops had cleared, in order to get at Jellalabad, that dreaded Khyber pass which had never before been carried against defenders. The path of the terrible retreat was retrodden; Akbar Khan was twice defeated; and on the 20th of September, General Sale recovered his wife and their widowed daughter, with her new-born infant. Meanwhile, Lord Ellenborough, the new Governor-General (the Earl of Auckland had returned to England on the downfall of the Whigs), had arrived, and issued a proclamation, in which he declared, among other extraordinary things, that it was contrary to British principles and policy to force a Sovereign on a reluctant people. As Shah Sujah had been murdered, there remained no obstacle to the reinstatement of Dost Mohammed. The British army, therefore, once more prepared to evacuate Cabul; but before doing so, a great part of the city, built in the reign of the great Aurungzebe, was blown up—a piece of mischief that appears the more wanton, since our prisoners had not been ill-treated. Among the trophies of our arms, was a pair of sandal wood-gates of the temple of Juggernaut at Somnauth, which had, a thousand years before, been carried to Ghuznee by Mahmoud. The Governor-General congratulated the Hindoo tribes on the recovery of these sacred antiquities, in a proclamation which excited the reprobation of the religious as a sanction of idolatry, and the ridicule of the wits as a parody on Napoleon's bombast. His lordship's behaviour was, in other respects, so offensive to the Directors of the East India Company, that, in the exercise of an almost obsolete privilege, they recalled him. Before his return, Scinde had been annexed to our dominions. The Ameers had been suspected of assisting the Afghans; a tribute to which they were subject they neglected to pay; disputes had arisen about a treaty for the navigation of the Indus, the operation of which infringed upon their hunting-grounds; and, finally, they expelled our Resident. General Sir Charles Napier was sent against them with two or three thousand men; defeated armies seven times as numerous in the battles of Meanee [February the 17th, 1843] and Dubla, took Hyderabad, and was appointed Governor of the province. In the same year, the ancient enmity of the Mahrattas was aroused: some disturbances at Gwalior were considered to require our interference; but it was not till after two bloody battles that the government of the infant Maharajah was re-established. Sir Henry Hardinge went out, though a military man, as a Governor whose policy would be peace and improvement. But the con-

ditions of our rule in India were not yet consistent with repose. The dominions of the late Runjeet Singh had fallen, after several suspicious deaths and open murders, to a boy, Dhuleep Singh; but the army preferred to him a vizier, Ghoolab Singh. The mother of the former hated the English, and the latter would not discourage the passion of his adherents for a descent upon our possessions. Towards the close of 1845, a Shiek army crossed the Sutlej. On the 18th of December, they were checked by the battle of Moodkee, in which General Sale was mortally wounded. On the 21st and the following day, the dreadful battle of Ferozeshah was fought; the Governor-General acting as second in command under Sir Hugh Gough. Seven days later, Sir Harry Smith drove the invaders from Aliwal to the Sobraon, their last stronghold; and from that again they were driven, with horrible slaughter, on the 10th of February. In all these engagements the Shieks employed heavy and well-manned trains of artillery; which our troops, lacking ammunition, were compelled to carry at the point of the bayonet. The British army advanced to Lahore, and there dictated treaties which it was hoped would be observed. But three years later, the Shieks and Dost Mohammed were in hostile alliance, and it was soon evident that all that remained of Runjeet Singh's fine army, was to be pitted by his successors against his allies. On the 13th of January, 1849, a battle was fought at Chillianwallah, in which, though the Shieks were worsted, it was with such terrible loss to the British, that Sir Charles Napier was hastily sent out to supersede Lord Gough. Before his arrival, however, the enemy were completely vanquished, the Punjab annexed, as Scinde had been, and the Koh-i-noor, the symbol of Indian empire, carried off. It was with many expressions of reluctance that this extension of our frontier to the Indus on the west, and to Cashmere on the north, was sanctioned by our statesmen; beneath the exultations of inferior politicians and public bodies, there was evident a growth of wiser judgment and better feeling; and it may be hoped that we have risen at last above the sad necessity imposed upon us by antecedents of criminal cupidity and ambition, and that if to India native government is an impossibility, British rule may be an expiation and a blessing.

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## CHAPTER IX.

THE YEARS OF REVOLUTION AND REACTION—ELEMENTS OF DISCONTENT IN FRANCE—THE REFORM BANQUETS—FEBRUARY 22ND AND FOLLOWING DAYS—THE PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT—THE CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY—CAVAIGNAC AND LOUIS NAPOLEON—THE REFORMING PONTIFF—SICILY AND NAPLES—VIENNA AND BERLIN—ITALIAN INDEPENDENCE—GERMAN UNITY—ENGLAND AND IRELAND—MASSACRE AND PILLAGE IN NAPLES—FLIGHT OF THE POPE FROM ROME—OVERTHROW OF CHARLES ALBERT—DISPERSION OF THE PRUSSIAN CONSTITUENT—INSURRECTIONS IN GERMANY—BOMBARDMENT OF VIENNA—ABDICATION OF THE AUSTRIAN EMPEROR—DISPERSION OF THE FRANKFORT PARLIAMENT—HUNGARIAN WAR OF INDEPENDENCE—FALL OF ROME—INVASION OF HUNGARY BY RUSSIA—GORGEY'S SURRENDER—DOMESTIC RETROSPECT OF THE YEARS 1846 TO '50—DEATHS OF POLITICAL CELEBRITIES.

WE have reached the last stage of our flight with Time. We descend upon the soil of France, from which we set out—and we find it, as then, rocking with the earthquake of revolution.

The dynasty of July had again been threatened by a Pretender; the life of its head repeatedly attempted by assassins; and its stability weakened by the death of its heir. On the 6th of August, 1840, Louis Napoleon Bonaparte landed at Boulogne from a steamer which he had manned in the Thames with fifty or sixty desperate adherents, exhibited a live eagle, and appealed to the memory of his uncle; but was captured by the local authorities, tried by the Court of Peers, and sentenced to imprisonment in the castle of Ham, from which he escaped six years afterwards, disguised as a workman. In July, 1842, the Duke of Orleans was killed by the overturning of his carriage: the eldest of his two infant sons was recognised as heir to the French throne, and the Regency confided to his uncle, the Duc de Nemours, instead of the Duchess of Orleans. The sad event seemed rather to inflame than moderate Louis Philippe's solicitude for the aggrandisement of his family. Against the opinion of his wisest advisers, to the intense dissatisfaction of the country, and at the imminent risk of a rupture with England, he effected an alliance between his youngest son, the Duc de Montpensier, and the presumptive heiress to the Spanish throne. A stagnation of trade through the greater part of 1847 produced deep distress among the operative classes in the winter, and increased the discontent of the bourgeoisie at the heavy weight of taxation they had to bear. The Liberal opposition in the two Chambers gave direction to this feeling by putting out a programme of Electoral Reforms. The minister, M. Guizot, challenged a display of public sentiment in support of these demands; and it was given in the form of banquets in all the chief towns of France. But in these assemblages Republicanism displayed

itself with a boldness and strength alarming to the Dynastic opposition led by MM. Thiers and Odillon Barrot, and furnishing the Government with a ground of offence. The King's speech on the re-assembling of the Chambers, in February, 1848, characterised the Peers and Deputies who had attended the banquets as hostile to himself and blind to results. A constitutional question was thus raised, on which all sections of the Opposition—the Legitimists included—united against the Government. The former demanded a declaratory law on the right of public meetings, but the latter refused it—they would give an opportunity of appeal to the tribunals. The citizens of the twelfth arrondissement of Paris had invited the Liberal Representatives to a banquet, to be held on Sunday, the 20th of February. This crowning demonstration the Government forbade, but intimated that they would not prevent it. The Deputies accepted the test, and the banquet was postponed to the 22nd, that it might be the more imposing. To aid in rendering it so, the managers invited the National Guards of the district to attend in uniform, but unarmed. At this, the Government took, or affected to take, alarm; ordered the dispersion of the guests, if they assembled; and concentrated troops upon the city. The Deputies resolved by a majority not to attend the banquet, advised the people to peaceableness, and promised to impeach the Ministers. A minority resolved to be present at all hazards, but the committee acquiesced in the advice of the majority, and relinquished the banquet. The next morning—Tuesday, February the 22nd—fifty thousand soldiers were in and around the capital. The people crowded into the boulevards, but with no more apparent motive than curiosity; until a column of youths electrified them by the singing of the Marseillaise, and led them towards the Chambers, which were well guarded. In the hall of Deputies, M. Barrot placed upon the table of the President the act of accusation against the Ministry. M. Guizot took it up, read it, and sat down with the smile that welcomes rather than contemns the strife. After a short and gloomy sitting, the Chamber adjourned. Night fell, and the authorities held apparently undisputed possession of the city. It seemed the affectation of caution to bivouack the troops in the streets. But there was another army afoot—the four or five hundred ever-vigilant, indomitable men who were the sworn soldiers of the Republic of the future, now so near. Some of these were sitting in committees—others, converting the tortuous streets around the cloisters of St. Méry into the citadel of the insurrection—and others, again, disarming the weak outposts of the National Guards. On Wednesday morning, barricades were rising in all the streets ramifying from this centre, and in the most democratic districts. The troops were soon wearied by levelling these undefended but massive structures; and the National Guards were summoned by the *rappel*. They turned out, but joined with the people in cries for Reform and the abase-

ment of Guizot. The Chambers were sitting all day, expecting communications from the King, but received none. In the evening, it was known that the King had summoned M. Molé, and the citizens illuminated, in sign of joy at the downfall of Guizot. But those were the funeral lights of the monarchy. In front and on the flank of the hotel of the hated Minister, at the corner of the Rue de Choiseul, several columns of armed workmen and students met, or were passing, headed by a red flag. Their cries, or the flare of their torches, startled the horse of the officer commanding the battalion in guard of the hotel. The animal reared and plunged—in the confusion of the moment, a shot was fired by an unknown hand—and in the next, from panic or passion, the front rank of soldiers presented and fired. The head of the advancing column was decimated—the road was cumbered with dead, and the pavement in pools of blood—the reverberation of the musketry brought thousands rushing to the spot. The column quickly re-forms, repulses the officer, who, frantic with grief, expostulates and beseeches—the corpses are placed on waggons, and borne past the offices of the *National* and the *Réforme*, the moderate and extreme Republican journals, from both of which orators further inflame the people. From every house of the populous districts rush forth men, now armed and eager to revenge their fallen brethren, and to secure the long-promised Republic. Barricades rise in every district, the National Guards shielding the people from the disheartened soldiers. The beating of tocsins, the ringing of bells, the noise of firing, fill the capital with anxiety, and carry alarm even to the Tuileries. At midnight the King sends for M. Thiers, who instantly attends. He finds that Marshal Bugeaud—hateful to the populace from the memory of former conflicts—has just been put in command of the city. Thiers advises his recall, and insists that M. Barrot be associated with himself in the Ministry. To both the King reluctantly consents, and Barrot is fetched. A proclamation is drawn up suspending hostilities, and promising amnesty and reform. The proclamation is nowhere heeded, except by the troops—they cease firing, and barricades multiply and spread, till even the Tuileries are nearly invested. It is eleven o'clock on the morning of Thursday. As the Royal family are at breakfast, officers rush in announcing that within three hundred paces the soldiers are being disarmed by the people. The King rides forth, and is met with but few cries of “Vive le Roi.” He returns dispirited and perplexed. Presently, M. Emile Girardin—a deputy, and the editor of *La Presse*—announces with unceremonious faithfulness, that the King must abdicate; he even presents for signature a bulletin which he has prepared. The King hesitates, but is persuaded by his youngest son, and writes—“I abdicate in favour of my grandson, the Count de Paris; and trust that he will be more fortunate than I.” Girardin throws it to the

crowd ; but it is unsigned, they take it for a snare, and continue to press upon the palace. Another copy is carried out by a veteran and popular Marshal, and it is snatched from his hand by Lagrange, the incarnate spirit of the revolution. At this moment Bugeaud reappears, and remonstrates with the King, though a bullet has just entered an apartment of the palace. Again Montpensier overrules his father, and the aged King and Queen hastily prepare to escape. The Duchess of Orleans entreats permission to accompany them, but it is denied. Two carriages are fetched from the public stands, and brought round to a garden gate, reached by a subterranean passage. An officer in disguise obtains an escort of cuirassiers, who gallop after the humble cortège—but the precaution is unneeded ; the people have recognised the fugitives, and care not to detain them. As Louis Philippe and his Queen leave by one door, the Duchess of Orleans and her children quit the palace by another, and cross the garden which separates it from the hall of the Deputies. Among the representatives who entered the Chamber two hours before was one destined, quite unconsciously to himself, to be ere night at the head of the Republic of France—Lamartine. A Royalist by birth, and a servant of the Restoration, he was a Republican in sentiment, but not in politics. He had recently written the “ History of the Girondists ;” and thereby advanced infinitely beyond even his own conceptions, the reign of a pacific democracy. He had abstained from the Reform banquets, but was at the head of the minority who resolved to uphold by their presence on Tuesday the constitutional right of political assemblage. He had been taken aside as he entered the hall, by a knot of Republican journalists, informed of the crisis, and asked to arbitrate between a Regency and a Republic. To their astonishment and joy, he decided, after a few moments of solemn deliberation, for the Republic. He descended to his seat and the journalists to their bureau in the hall.—It is about noon, and it is announced that the Duchess of Orleans and her children are about to enter the house. The members, who had been conversing in agitated groups, take their places, and the President his chair. They receive the Duchess with inspiring applause—the homage of manly hearts to a princess, a beautiful woman, in widowhood and deep distress. She simply bows, and seats herself under the tribune. M. Dupin, a confidant of the late King, announces the abdication, and states that the crown descends to the Count de Paris, and the Regency to the Duchess of Orleans. That, it is observed, is not true, as the law has fixed it upon the Duke of Nemours. During the discussion that ensues, two detachments of armed men force their way in, but they offer no violence to the Princess, who only retires nearer a door. It is even suspected by Marraast, a Republican journalist, that they are partizans of the Regency, purposely introduced ; and he goes to call in “ the real people,” who are now clamouring at the gates. While

he is gone, Ledru Rollin, the only extreme Republican in the Chamber, proposes a Provisional Government; and Lamartine is declaring for a Republic based on universal suffrage, at the moment that the hall is invaded by the head of a column fresh from the plunder of the palace, and the burning of the throne. The Princess is led away—her children are separated from her in the tumult, and are snatched from beneath the feet of the crowd. The President and most of the Deputies prudently make their escape. A venerable Republican, Dupont de l'Eure, is placed in the chair; and Lamartine selects from the names that are hastily handed up to him, the list of a Provisional Government. Eventually the following are adopted by tumultuous acclamation—Dupont de l'Eure, Lamartine, Arago, Marie, Garnier Pages, Ledru Rollin, and Cremieux. Among other names shouted, one is very popular—that of Louis Blanc, a young man favourably known to the reading classes as the historian of the first ten years of the Orleans dynasty; to the people, as the apostle of a theory of social regeneration, the "Organization of Labour;" but his name is not put from the tribune. The Provisional Government instantly sets out for the Hôtel de Ville, makes its way thither through crowds of armed men, and the President, feeble from age, has to be lifted over dead bodies and pools of blood. In the Hôtel de Ville, it is hard to find a council chamber, and then it is impossible to preserve its privacy. Before nightfall, the principal offices are divided—Lamartine taking the Foreign Office, Rollin the Interior, Arago (as a man of science) the Marine, Cremieux (especially as a Hebrew) the Ministry of Justice; and so on—Louis Blanc is one of several named secretaries, but very quickly he is admitted as an equal in the Government—the Republic is proclaimed, subject to the acceptance of the whole people of France; with the motto, "Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity"—Caussidière and Sobrier, insurgent chieftains, who have installed themselves in municipal offices, are confirmed therein because they cannot be dislodged—the Garde Mobile, a sort of ragged army, 25,000 strong, is enrolled from the ranks that must otherwise renew the insurrection from very hunger—in all sixty decrees are issued; besides the making of innumerable harangues to turbulent crowds. Night brings but a brief repose; and the next day it is only by the miraculous power of Lamartine's eloquence, and the firm support rendered by his colleagues, that the people are dissuaded from hoisting the red flag, the symbol of terrorism. On the same day, this noble band decreed, and this magnanimous people ratified, the abolition of the punishment of death, and of slavery in all the French colonies. After sixty hours of incessant toil, the members of the Government were able to separate to their offices; and Lamartine wrote his celebrated manifesto to Europe, proclaiming at once respect for existing governments, and

brotherhood with oppressed nationalities. The election of a National Constituent Assembly was fixed for the 24th of April; but between that time and the present a legion of perils intervened. The army in France and the navy in the harbours had pronounced for the Republic; but the Princes might return with the 100,000 from Algeria. The aspect of the European powers was uncertain, and the frontiers were nearly undefended. What was to be dreaded far more than foreign invasion, was the excitement of a passion for armed propagandism by the foreign democrats, 15,000 of whom had flocked to Paris in a few days. It seemed scarcely possible that the Socialists would not force the recognition of their dogma in the formulas of the Republic; which the majority of the Government were determined to oppose to the uttermost. To crown all, the exchequer was insolvent, and six millions of the population were without the means of subsistence. Some of these perils were encountered and overcome others were averted. The public credit was sustained by an issue of paper money on the security of the Crown lands. The Socialists were gratified by the appointment of an industrial commission of inquiry, with Louis Blanc and M. Albert, a workman, at its head. The "rebellion of the belly" was appeased by the opening of *ateliers*, in which the unemployed were set to work on uniforms for the Garde Mobile, the construction of public edifices, etc.\* The National Constituent Assembly was opened on the 4th of May. Its nine hundred members comprised most of the eminent men of the former Chamber. They adopted, with apparent unanimity and enthusiasm, the Republic, but soon displayed distrust of the illustrious men who had saved France from a repetition of 1793. They thus provoked a tumultuous demonstration on the 15th of May, in the name of war for Poland; the sanguinary contest of the 23rd of June and three following days, which necessitated the temporary dictatorship of General Cavaignac; and the reaction which declared itself in an act of liberticide—the election of Louis Napoleon Bonaparte first President of the Republic of France.†

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\* In no particular have the Provisional Government been more misunderstood and unjustly blamed than this. The *ateliers nationaux* were not established at the urgency of the Socialist section of the Government, but with their reluctant consent. They desired the employment of the compulsorily idle in the reclamation of waste lands and the production of food—the one article for which there is always a certainty of useful consumption. Lamartine himself regrets that this was not undertaken—and extenuates the error by a reference to the position of the Government, which allowed not of deliberation. See "History of the French Revolution of 1848. By Alphonse de Lamartine," pp. 337, 338.

† We have noted on page 18, the number of votes given by the French people on five occasions, from 1793 to 1804. The following are the numbers of votes received by the candidates in 1848:—Bonaparte, 5,434,232; Cavaignac, 1,447,107; Rollin, 370,100; Raspail, 36,920; Lamartine, 17,900; Changarnier, 4,890. As the last of these sheets are passing through the press, it is officially announced [January the 1st, 1852], that Louis Napoleon's presidency is prolonged ten years, by 7,439,216 affirmative, against 640,737 negative votes.



In the summer of 1846, the phenomenon of a reforming Pontiff appeared on the Seven Hills. Gregory the Sixth left in prison or exile the hundredth part of his subjects, the victims of a recent insurrection, suppressed by Austrian intervention. His successor, Pius the Ninth, released and recalled them, and proceeded to administer the Pontificate in a spirit that filled Europe with admiring astonishment, and quickened in Italy new hopes of freedom and nationality. Piedmont, the only military state of the Peninsula, had a King ambitious of becoming the liberator and ruler of Italy, but without the courage to strike for it—now, with the Pope blessing his banners, and his people clamorous for reform, he would take the field against Austria. Sicily claimed independence of Naples, and obtained, after hard fighting, the constitution of 1812;—the Neapolitans themselves extorted from their King, on the eve of the French Revolution, solemn promises of a constitution; and a day or two later, inflamed afresh by the tidings from Paris, resumed the attitude of insurrection, and obtained the actual grant of democratic institutions. Astounding as were these events, one yet more astonishing was at the door. On the 14th of March, Vienna was revolutionized by a few students and Poles, a representative government established, and Metternich compelled to flee into the Tyrol. The Emperor of Austria and the King of Prussia had been conferring on the attitude they should present to revolutionized France: before the return of the latter, revolution had commenced in Berlin. For three days there was occasional fighting in the streets; on the 18th, the King and people were celebrating their reconciliation in front of the palace, when a chance shot, as on the Rue de Choiseul, produced a panic, slaughter, and a night's hard fighting; the next morning, king and people were again reconciled, he clasping to his bosom the tricolour, proscribed emblem of German unity. In a few weeks, the Viennese democrats rose again, and extorted from the Diet an appeal to universal suffrage. Now was the hour of Italian emancipation. Charles Albert unfurled the banner of independence, at the head of 100,000 men. Milan drove out its Austrian garrison, and presently all Lombardy was free. Venice and Genoa put on their ancient glory. Parma and Modena ejected their Archdukes. Tuscany obtained a constitution. The Sicilian parliament, while Messina was under bombardment, decreed the expulsion of the Bourbons. The Romans constituted their city the centre of a federal republic. In every kingdom, duchy, and free city of Germany, democracy triumphed; Schleswig and Holstein revolted against Denmark, at the encouragement of Prussia; a German Parliament assembled in St. Paul's Church, Frankfort, and the dream of unity appeared already realized. Bohemia obtained a separate constitution; and Hungary a Ministry, headed by Count Louis Batthyani and Louis Kossuth—the patriotic nobleman, and the democratic advocate. From the Danube to

the Tiber, the peoples fraternized and rejoiced. And all this within seventy days!

The English Government promptly recognised the French Republic, and the English people loaded its founders with addresses of congratulation and praise. It was believed that, as in 1830, an irresistible impulse might be given to the cause of Liberalism at home. Another Chartist Convention was assembled, and another National Petition subscribed;—but in the former, there were few or none of the men who had dignified the name of Chartist by their virtues and sufferings; and the latter, by its three millions of fictitious signatures, brought intolerable ridicule upon the cause. The Convention proposed that the petition be carried up to the House of Commons on Monday, the 10th of April, by a procession from Kennington Common. The Government had previously forbidden, through the Police Commissioners, and on the authority of an obsolete statute, open-air meetings—one or two of which had been taken advantage of by the scoundrelism of the metropolis. In resolving to test the legality of this very questionable proceeding, the Convention had the sympathy of Reformers generally; but, on the other hand, the Government affected a degree of alarm which silenced that sympathy for the time, and secured the adhesion of the conservative, the timid, and the indifferent. Tens of thousands of special constables were sworn in, troops were brought up by night, and secreted along the route of the intended procession; cannon were planted at the bridges, and on river-steamers; the Bank and other public buildings were fortified as against siege or storm; on the morning of the 10th, the shops were closed in the great thoroughfares;—and all to overawe a few thousands of miserable-looking men, who were allowed to assemble on Kennington Common, and then informed through their leader, Mr. Feargus O'Connor, of the preparations made to resist their march upon Westminster. It was scarcely dignified in Government to make this overwhelming demonstration for the sake of mortifying a vain demagogue. It was worse than undignified—it was mean and cruel—in the opinion of many who that day kept at home, thus to irritate thousands who had enough to bear in the hardships of their social and the degradation of their political condition;—mean and cruel thus to array the physical and moral force of the community against a political party and a social class. Under cover of the panic thus excited, the Government proceeded from their attack upon the right of peaceful public assemblage, to limit the freedom of speech. They hastily carried a bill for the Security of the Crown and Government, making the “open and advised” advocacy of republican opinions felony—a measure for which the only pretext was the proceedings of “Young Ireland;” and which was strenuously resisted by respectable minorities, including several Conservatives and legal authorities. The Alien Act was

also renewed, with the addition of clauses arming Government with the power of summarily expelling foreign refugees; of whom several thousands were in London before the end of the summer, including Louis Blanc, and many of the German Republican leaders. In June, there were repeated collisions between the police and the Chartist populace in Clerkenwell and Bethnal-green; Mr. Ernest Jones, a barrister, and several others, were put on trial for seditious speaking, and suffered various terms of imprisonment; and two batches of miserable men were seized at low public-houses on charges of treasonable conspiracy—of which they were convicted chiefly on the suspicious evidence of one Powell, an informer, and were sentenced to transportation. It was long before the Conservative and Ministerial newspapers ceased to sing pæons over the security of England alike from revolution and reaction; but there were many dissentients from this exultation, deeming revolution but postponed when reaction against peaceful progress is industriously invoked.

In Ireland, rebellion had too long been openly planned to make it doubtful that it would now be attempted. Among the foreign deputations that thronged upon the Provisional Government of France, were some Irishmen, eager to revive the alliance with the Directory; but they met with direct refusal. The leader, or rather creator, of the rebellious party, was Mr. John Mitchell, a Protestant, and a man of undeniable genius and integrity, but fanatically resolute on the separation of Ireland from the United Kingdom. His writings, which circulated immensely, combined circumstantial instructions for the conduct of a rebellion, with the most eloquent incentives. He was so long permitted to conduct this open conspiracy, that the inactivity of the Government was generally received as a confession of timidity. At length the blow fell; Mitchell was imprisoned, twice tried, and sentenced to transportation. The "confederates" swore he should not leave Ireland while they lived. But soldiers were poured into the country, war-steamers occupied the harbours, Mitchell was shipped to the Bermudas, the Habeas Corpus Act was suspended, and rewards offered for the capture of Smith O'Brien, Meagher, and others. The rebellion must break out now or never. But the priests held back the peasantry; the towns were disarmed by the police; the only battle fought was one near Ballygarry, between some constables and a few poor wretches whom O'Brien in vain sought to inspire with his own spirit; and in a few months, half-a-dozen Irishmen, who might have adorned any country by their talents, and saved it by their patriotism, if talent and patriotism were sufficient for the salvation of a country, were on their way to the penal settlements.

We are accustomed to speak of 1848 as the year of revolutions, and 1849 of reaction. But, in truth, before revolution had half run its course, reaction had commenced—the excesses, or self-defensive struggles, of the

one, blending with, and veiling, the commencement of the other. So soon as May, 1848, the King of Naples had set an example of unscrupulous vigour to his brother monarchs by giving up the people of his capital to massacre by the troops and pillage by the lazzaroni, and disarming the civic guard as a preliminary to punishing the recollection of his royal promises as the heaviest of crimes. In August, Milan capitulated to Radetzky, the Austrian commander. In September, the avowal of a design in the Frankfort Parliament to create the King of Prussia hereditary Emperor of Germany, provoked a sanguinary encounter between the troops of Prussia and Saxony, and the democrats of the city. Meanwhile, Hungary was transforming her serf population into a peasant proprietary; and defending herself with impromptu valour—for her regular army was fighting in Italy—against the invasion of Jellachich, Ban of Croatia, covertly sanctioned by the Court of Vienna. On the 9th of October, Lamberg, the Imperial Commissioner, outlawed by the Diet, was slain, in a transport of popular fury, on the bridge of Buda-Pesth. Three days before, Count Latour, Austrian Minister of War, was hung on a lamppost by the populace of Vienna, enraged at discovering his treacherous intercourse with Jellachich, whom the Hungarians had chased to the gates of the capital. On the 28th, Windischgratz advanced to bombard Vienna; the timid leaders of the Assembly refusing the aid of the Magyar army, within sight of a signal. Vienna was cannonaded into submission, the Diet suppressed, and Robert Blum, one of the Frankfort Deputies, taken and shot. In November, the King of Prussia ordered the Constituent Assembly to remove from Berlin to Brandenburg—that is, from under the protection of the citizens; the Assembly resisted, and was forcibly dissolved; Berlin placed in a state of siege, and the burgher guard disarmed. In the same month, the Pope's Prime Minister, Rossi, was assassinated; Pius fled to Gaeta, in the disguise of a Bavarian footman; and a Provisional Government was appointed. The year closed with the abdication of the feeble Ferdinand, Emperor of Austria, in favour of his nephew, Francis Joseph, a youth of eighteen, quite at the disposal of his mother, the Archduchess Sophia. Hungary was immediately invaded at several points—Gallicia, the Upper Danube, and the Drave—and menaced by insurrections among the semi-barbarous tribes of her dependencies. Kossuth's foresight and eloquence had previously obtained from the Parliament a levy of 200,000 men; and now he traversed the country inspiring the whole people with his own enthusiasm for fatherland and freedom. The intrepid but very ill-provided hosts thus raised, were concentrated on the Theiss, while the Parliament retired to Debreczin. On the 4th of March, the Emperor promulgated a constitution bestowing political rights and independent institutions on all the Austrian provinces; but thus abrogating the ancient constitution of Hungary, of which country

he was not the legitimate sovereign, not having been crowned in its capital, as expressly stipulated in the Pragmatic Sanction. Before the end of April, the Austrian armies had been driven back over the Danube, and the Declaration of Hungarian Independence had issued from Debreczin. Meanwhile, the Sardinians had been utterly defeated at Novarra [March the 23rd], and Charles Albert had resigned his crown to his son; Haynau had bombarded Brescia, and Marmora, Genoa; the Archduke of Tuscany had fled from his capital; the Constituent Assembly of Rome had proclaimed a Republic, and elected Mazzini first Triumvir; the Pope had appealed to all Catholic powers; France had responded with a promise of armed intervention; and Austria had captured Bologna after eight days' siege. In Germany, the Frankfort Parliament, disowned first by Austria, then by Prussia, had retired to Stutgard, where it was presently broken up; insurrections at Dresden, Elberfeld, Dusseldorf, Breslau, and Baden, in resistance to reaction, had failed; and all Prussia was under military law. In May, the Gaul was at the gates of Rome, and a Russian army was invading Hungary through Galicia, Moravia, and Transylvania, in three columns, each 50,000 strong. The Romans yielded [July the 3rd] only after a defence worthy of the best days of the Republic. Hungarian enthusiasm and intrepidity, inflamed to the highest by the fatality of the crisis and the appeals of Governor Kossuth, maintained for three months the unequal conflict. Bem held the Russian hordes in check on the side of Transylvania, and Dembinski on the north-west; Klapka held the fortress of Komorn, and Görgey covered Raab, against which the Austrians were advancing under Haynau, elated with the reconquest of Italy, and reinforced by another Russian host. But the generals could not combine their forces in time to escape being defeated in detail. The Danube and the Theiss were recrossed. Temesvar was defended with desperate but unsuccessful valour. The Government had retired to Arad, and thither Görgey followed them. A council of war transferred the government from Kossuth to Görgey, on the assurance of the latter that the Russians would guarantee the maintenance of the Hungarian Constitution and an independent Ministry. But on the 13th of August, Görgey surrendered 30,000 men and 138 pieces of artillery, to a Russian general. Peterwardein and Komorn still held out. Klapka refused to follow the example and obey the summons of Görgey. He at length capitulated [October the 1st] only on the written assurance of the Imperial Commissioner of a general amnesty, and an honourable retreat for the garrison. How the former part of the agreement was kept, nearly every child in England and America now knows. Courts-martial were set up at Pesth and Arad—by which Count Louis Batthyani, former Prime Minister of Hungary, and who had gone to the Austrian camp with a flag of truce, and twenty-two others, noble-

men and officers, were shot or hanged; honourable women were flogged; patriotic families were ruined by confiscation and imprisonment; 70,000 hussars and honveds were compelled to enlist in the Austrian ranks; Kossuth and his fellow fugitives were even demanded of the Sultan of Turkey, in whose dominions they had taken refuge. Thus closed 1849. But the reaction did not there stay its relentless course. Within the next year, Prussia had deserted the cause of the Duchies, and left them to be crushed by Denmark. The National Assembly of France had enacted the law of May, by which universal suffrage, the basis of the Republic, was narrowed to half the number of votes by which that Assembly had been elected; the Pope had been reinstated by the combined armies of France and Austria; the Archduke of Tuscany had returned to Florence; Ferdinand worked his mild will unchecked in Sicily and Naples; the old German Congress had re-assembled at Frankfort; and the close of 1850 beheld the armies of Austria and Prussia converged upon little Hesse Cassel, to enforce the restoration of a detestable tyrant and a profligate minister.

Domestic events, subsequent to the repeal of the corn-laws, and under the administration of Lord John Russell, we need do little more than recall to the memory of the reader; observing rather an order of relation than of time.—The sugar duties and the Navigation-laws were subjects requiring to be dealt with on the principles of, and as a practical sequel to, free-trade in corn. The former were twice prolonged by special acts; but before the recess of 1846—and notwithstanding the opposition of the West Indian interest, now identified with the Protectionists, and of a section of the anti-slavery party—the new Premier had effected a diminution extending over five years. Nothing was done on the Navigation-laws, beyond the appointment of a committee, until '49; and the measure introduced in that session was not carried without some modification, and after several narrow divisions.—It will be remembered that opposition to corn-law repeal rested, in part, on denials of any extensive dearth of food in Ireland. With another season of potato-disease, the dearth became a famine. Before its rising, Parliament authorized the advance of £50,000, and the employment of the distressed on works of public utility, on the presentment of a county or barony sessions. By the 2nd of October, 248 such presentments had been made. By the 7th of November, 10,000 persons were employed on the public works. In the last week of that month, 273,000 were so employed, at the cost of £117,591. By the beginning of December there had been numerous deaths by starvation in Skibbereen (county Cork) and in Mayo. On the 14th of January [1847], it was stated by a Dean that five thousand had perished on the south-west coast of the island. February opened with an expenditure of £1,000,000 a month, and the employment of 708,238 persons daily. Parliament was informed, at its meeting, that nearly two

millions sterling had already been expended, and that not less than seven millions would be required before the next harvest; that Skibbereen had been depopulated, and other districts decimated, by famine; that food to the value of sixteen millions had been destroyed; that instead of the two million quarters of corn we had been accustomed to receive from Ireland, an exportation to that amount would be required; and that a scarcity of grain was common to all Europe. Ministers were indemnified for the responsibility they had incurred; the corn duties (then at four shillings per quarter on wheat) and Navigation-laws were suspended, in preference to an importation of food by Government vessels; a proposal by Lord George Bentinck, to expend three millions in the construction of Irish railways, was rejected; a loan of eight millions authorized; a diminished consumption of corn was enforced in public establishments, and recommended to the public; and the 24th of March was set apart for humiliation and prayer. A report presented by the Relief Commissioners in July, stated that out of 2,049 electoral districts, 1,677 had been placed under the Relief Act; that 2,920,792 rations of food were given, and 99,220 sold daily; and that £54,439 had been received in money subscriptions since January, besides contributions of food from America, and even Turkey. In the same month, failures in the corn-trade to the amount of £3,027,000 were gazetted; a serious aggravation of the commercial depression, already under investigation by a committee of the House of Commons. The 18th of October was observed as a day of thanksgiving for the plenteousness of the harvest; and further appeals were made to British charity for mitigating the suffering that must yet be endured by the unhappy sister isle, in which the pestilence that is born of famine still raged, and crime seemed reviving with strength for its commission. In the second session of 1847, a bill was carried for the repression of crime and outrage in Ireland. But politicians of all parties had at length been penetrated by the conviction that the tenure of land—exhaustive subdivision, at extortionate rents, on the one hand; and nominal proprietorship of fertile but untilled wastes, on the other—lay at the bottom of Irish wretchedness; and, in July, 1848, Sir Robert Peel introduced a measure which was subsequently adopted by the Government, and became law under the title of the Encumbered Estates Act. A partial return of famine induced, in the session of '49, a modification of the Irish poor-law, a grant of £50,000 to the unions, and the advance of £100,000 for agricultural improvements, on the security of a rate-in-aid.—In the last session of Queen Victoria's second Parliament, Government proposed to increase the annual grant for educational purposes to £100,000; the distribution of which was to be regulated by certain Minutes of the Committee of Privy Council on Education. The promulgation of these Minutes created an excitement scarcely less than that of 1843. Since that

period there had been a remarkable growth of opinion among Dissenters. A large proportion of them now took their stand upon a theoretical objection to the interference of the State with public education; and the vast majority were resolute in resistance to any plan calculated to increase the influence of the Established Church. Such a scheme undoubtedly was that embodied in these Minutes of Council; and the usual reply to this objection was, that the Church would infallibly defeat any system not so characterised. In the long debates that took place in the Commons on the proposition, only one speaker (Mr. Bright) took up the theoretical ground above-named; but Messrs. Duncombe, Roebuck, and Molesworth—parties not supposed to sympathize very strongly with Dissenting views—urged various objections to the Minutes, and embodied those objections in amendments, but forbore to oppose the augmentation of the grant. In the same session, a bill for filling up the bishopric of Manchester—one of the two sees created, on the report of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, in 1836—and announcing, in its preamble, an intention of creating three other bishoprics, was introduced by Lord J. Russell; who seemed resolved on avoiding the embarrassment of former Whig ministries, by extreme obsequiousness to the Church. Conservatives and Radicals united in reprobating the proposed increase of prelates, and the tentative clause of the preamble was struck out. In the General Election of 1847, ecclesiastical questions were almost exclusively predominant. The advanced section of Dissenters had resolved on breaking from the Whig alliance, in resentment for the indifference with which their remonstrances had been treated on three successive occasions, and, now that free-trade was safe, on making religious equality the object of systematic political effort. They acted on this resolve with an energy not less surprising to themselves than others;—they flung out three members of the ministry—Mr. Macaulay, from Edinburgh; Mr. Hawes, from Lambeth; and General Fox from the Tower Hamlets—and returned forty members pledged to oppose any further grants of public money for religious purposes. Lord John Russell also received for a colleague in the representation of London, the Baron Rothschild, that the exclusion of Jews from Parliament (the origin of which will be remembered) might be fairly tested and broken down. The Premier redeemed the pledge he gave on the City hustings by introducing, in 1848, a bill for the removal of that disability, which was carried by the Commons, and rejected by the Lords: the consequent re-election of the Baron, and the annual rejection by the Lords of a measure for his admission to the House of Commons, are scarcely matters of history. The appointment of Dr. Hampden to the see of Hereford was the occasion of proceedings which a wise statesman or a devout Churchman would have hesitated to provoke. The bishop-elect was obnoxious to the Tractarian and distasteful to the



Evangelical party, because now that Arnold was no more he was the ablest opponent of the former, had been censured by the University of Oxford for heterodoxy, and was latitudinarian in his ecclesiastical politics. Thirteen bishops headed the clergy and laity in urging the Premier to revoke the appointment; and the Dean of Hereford declared he would rather incur the penalties of *præmunire* than obey the *congé d'élire* commanding the election of Dr. Hampden. But, however ready to gratify the Church at the expense of popular interests and feelings, Lord John Russell was haughty and obstinate in defending his patronage;—the bishops were thanked for their advice; the dean's letter was curtly acknowledged as an intimation of his "intention of violating the law." A majority of the Chapter complied with the *congé d'élire*; the law courts decided that the reluctant Archbishop must proceed to confirmation; and the series of instructive fictions was climaxed by the performance of that ceremony in Bow Church [January the 16th, 1848], when, notwithstanding that the objectors appeared by their proctors, and claimed to be heard, the election was pronounced unanimous. The Bishop of Exeter, the *primum mobile* of the Hampden agitation, kept up this exposure of the actual in contradiction to the theoretical relations of the Church to itself and to the State. One of his clergy—the Rev. J. Shore—he refused to release from his ordination vows; cited him into the Ecclesiastical Courts for preaching without license, and held him in prison nearly three months for non-payment of costs. Another clergyman—the Rev. G. Gorham—presented by the Crown to a living in the diocese of Exeter, the bishop refused to institute, on account of his disbelief in baptismal regeneration, which the bishop affirmed to be the doctrine of the Church; the Ecclesiastical Courts confirmed that interpretation; but the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council decided [March the 8th, 1850] that both the Tractarian and Evangelical views of baptism were compatible with the exercise of the ministry, and that Mr. Gorham must therefore be instituted. The secession of the defeated party seemed imminent; but they contented themselves with protests. The Dissenting members of Parliament vindicated their consistency by opposing, several years in succession, the vote known as *Regium Donum*; but without success up to the close of the half-century. The passage of a bill to legalize diplomatic intercourse with the court of Rome, rendered necessary, in the opinion of its authors, by the influence of the Pontiff or the working of imperial legislation in Ireland—the Roman Catholic Synod of Thurles—the publication of a Papal rescript [September, 1850] instituting a Roman Catholic hierarchy in England; the Premier's letter to the Bishop of Durham, characterising that appointment as an aggression upon the prerogative of the Crown and the liberties of the people; and the violent agitation that forthwith arose—are the last of the ecclesiastical

events that fell within the period to which we are limited.—In the first of the two sessions of 1847, Mr. Fielden and Lord Ashley succeeded in restricting the factory working-day to ten hours. The Poor-law Commission was re-established, with a modification of the law of settlement. Military flogging was the subject of animated debates, reflecting the excitement out of doors, in consequence of the death of a soldier from the effects of the lash: the House of Commons declined to prohibit the practice, but an order from the War Office limited the number of lashes to fifty.—County Courts, for the cheap and speedy administration of equity, long advocated by Lord Brougham, were established: three years' experience of their operation, induced, in 1850, a considerable extension of their powers. In the latter year, a bill was carried by Mr. Ewart, empowering town-councils to establish public libraries and museums on the vote of two-thirds of the burgesses.—In 1848, about eighty members of the House of Commons, including the leaders of the disbanded League, formally constituted themselves "the People's party;"—in the same session, Mr. Hume introduced his annual resolution for household suffrage, the ballot, triennial elections, and a re-distribution of the representation. The only Governmental measure of electoral reform was a bill for the enlargement of the Irish county and borough franchise; the Lords raised the qualification from £8 to £15, and the Commons consented to a Ministerial compromise, fixing it at £12.—The necessity of sanitary laws had been for some years urged upon the Legislature by public associations. In the summer of 1849 came the cholera, to enforce these appeals and punish the neglect of its former warnings. As before, its coming was foreseen, and its progress hither from the East anxiously watched. Its appearance in London was chronicled in the last week in June; on the 10th of September, it had reached its maximum—about 450 deaths per diem; on the 18th of October only five deaths were registered. The total number of its victims was nearly 15,000 in the metropolis alone. Days of public prayer and thanksgiving were kept, in conformity with a royal proclamation and the resolutions of religious bodies. Some of the measures taken to avert or mitigate the infliction were made permanent, and many more were promised. The establishment of a Board of Health and of Commissioners of Sewers, with extensive powers, and the passage of the Metropolitan Interment Act, is all that was accomplished in fulfilment of these promises up to the close of our period: the last-named measure encountered considerable opposition, on account of the lavish compensation it awarded to the clergy, and its investing the Board of Health with the functions of the undertaker.—In the department of finance, the incapacity or misfortunes of former Whig administrations seemed to have descended on this. The budget for 1848 showed a deficiency of nearly three millions; yet the Ministry proposed

an increase of armaments to the amount of £385,000, and not only a renewal of the income-tax, but its augmentation from three to five per cent. The proposition raised a storm of opposition such as no budget since that of 1816 had excited. The City of London and the metropolitan parishes took the lead in petitioning and memorializing; and the scheme was abandoned within a fortnight of its introduction. The Financial Reformers took advantage of the prevalent indignation to obtain a select committee upon the estimates; and on their reports, the expenditure was reduced to the amount of £5,600,000; but Ministers were permitted to contract another loan of two millions, and the property and income-tax was renewed for a third term of three years. In the next session, Mr. Cobden took the opinion of the House on a proposition for reducing the national expenditure to its amount in 1835; since which period the expense of the naval, military, and ordnance departments had risen from eleven to seventeen millions. He also submitted in this year the first of his annual motions in favour of international arbitration and mutual disarmament.—Notwithstanding the different temperaments of the two men, Lord Grey succeeded no better than Lord Stanley in the administration of colonial affairs. He inherited a feud with the Australian states on the ground of convict transportation; but in a year or two the feud had become a personal quarrel, and a question of kept or broken faith. In 1849, a shipload of convicts was sent to the Cape of Good Hope; and the colonists, previously irritated by delay in the establishment of a constitution granted them by letters patent from the Crown, absolutely prevented the “Neptune” touching their shores. In 1850 a South Australian Colonies’ Act—a partial concession of self-government—was passed, after a series of debates indicating the rapid growth of interest among politicians in these settlements, and the presence in Parliament of a colonial party. The administration of Lord Torrington in Ceylon, and of Sir Henry Ward in the Ionian islands, were the subjects of repeated debate in 1849 and ’50. Both were charged with arbitrariness and extreme severity in the suppression of rebellion; upon the Ceylon charges a committee sat two sessions—inquiry into the Cephalonian grievances was refused. The slaughter of some fifteen hundred Dyaks, on the North-west Coast of Borneo, on the presumption of piratical habits and intentions, by a force under the command of Rajah Brooke [July, 1849], was repeatedly brought before Parliament by Messrs. Hume and Cobden; but without effect.—The excited state of the continent naturally reflected itself in the debates of the British Parliament. The suppression of the Republic of Cracow, in 1846, was protested against by Lord Palmerston; both Houses sanctioned the protest; and it was proposed by Mr. Hume to enforce it by withholding an annual payment to Russia, under the same treaty which guaranteed the independence of Cracow; but the Government would not go that length. In

the session of 1849, the Hungarian war of independence was characterised, incidentally, by the Premier, as a "rebellion;" but the Foreign Secretary held a different language—abetted the Sicilians at the commencement of their struggles, and endeavoured to mediate between them and the King of Naples—consented with reluctance to the intervention of France in Italy and of Russia in Hungary—protested, with successful energy, against the demand of the allied Emperors upon Turkey for the extradition of the refugees—and was honoured by a subscription of five hundred guineas among the Liberal members of the House of Commons for the presentation of his portrait to Lady Palmerston. In the next session, however, there was an accumulation of charges to answer. Our representative (Sir Henry Bulwer) had been expelled from Madrid for presumed interference with the domestic policy of Spain; and the appearance of a British fleet in the Piræus, to enforce demands which had already been settled by a convention of diplomatists in London, had angered France and Russia, the parties to that convention. In both cases, mortifying concessions had to be made. The House of Lords censured the Minister whose policy had led to these results, on the motion of Lord Stanley, and by a majority of thirty-seven. It was felt that unless a counter resolution could be obtained from the Commons, that Minister must retire. Such a resolution was proposed by Mr. Roebuck, in general terms [June the 24th, 1850], and carried, after an exciting debate of four nights, by a majority of forty-six. It was on this motion Sir Robert Peel delivered his last speech. We transcribe a few of its sentences, as alike memorable from the occasion of their delivery, and as elucidatory of the whole question:—"The hon. and learned gentleman (Mr. Roebuck) says there shall be no mistake as to the purport and import of my vote; that it is not a resolution simply of approval of the policy of the noble lord, but a resolution the intention and meaning of which is this:—we are to tell the people of all foreign countries with whom we have any relations, that our power, so far as it is physically concerned, is not to be employed to coerce their rulers; but that in so far as the moral influence of this country and of this Government is concerned, the world shall know that we are friendly wheresoever we find a large endeavour, on the part of any body of men, to vindicate to themselves the right of self-government. . . . I am asked, what is the antagonistic principle? I have been challenged over and over again to declare it. I will declare it. The principle for which I contend is the principle for which every statesman for the last fifty years has contended—namely, non-interference with the domestic affairs of other countries without some clear and undeniable necessity arising from circumstances affecting the interests of your own country. That is the antagonistic principle for which I contend. I affirm that the principle for which you contend is the

principle contended against by Mr. Fox, when it was employed in favour of arbitrary government; which was resisted by Lord Castlereagh and Mr. Canning at the Congress of Verona; the principle which was asserted by the Convention of France on the 19th of November, 1792, and was abandoned by that same Convention on the 13th of April, 1793, because France found it utterly impossible to adhere to it consistently with the maintenance of peace. . . It is my firm belief that you will not advance the cause of constitutional government by attempting to dictate to other nations. If you do, your intentions will be mistaken—you will rouse feelings upon which you do not calculate—you will invite opposition to government; and beware that the time does not arrive, when, frightened by your own interference, you withdraw your countenance from those whom you have excited, and leave upon their mind the bitter recollection that you have betrayed them. If you succeed, I doubt whether or no the institutions that take root under your patronage will be lasting. Constitutional liberty will be best worked out by those who aspire to freedom by their own efforts. You will only overload it by your help, by your principle of interference. . . . For these reasons, I give my dissent, my reluctant dissent, from the motion of the honourable gentleman. I would not evade the difficulty by silence or absence—I have stated the grounds upon which I protest against the resolution—the carrying of which, I believe, will give a false impression with respect to the dignity and honour of this country, and will establish a principle which you cannot carry into execution without imminent danger.”

It was the very next day after the delivery of these luminous and pacific sentiments, that the speaker, of whose character they were the natural expression, and whose long career gave them the added weight of experience, ceased for ever from his utterances and labours. On the evening of Saturday, June the 29th, Sir Robert Peel was thrown from his horse, and was borne to his house in Whitehall, insensible and mortally injured. None who were then of age to observe, will ever forget the thrill of incredulous alarm which ran through the metropolis with the circulation of the intelligence—how, the next day, church-goers whispered it to each other in the lobbies of their places of worship—how, from nearly every pulpit where extempore prayer was offered, supplication was made for the illustrious sufferer—how the usual gaiety of the parks on a summer Sunday's afternoon was overclouded—how the representatives of all classes, from the Sovereign to the labourer, crowded to the mansion of the dying statesman—how sad, solemn groups, kept their watch, almost as at the last hours of Mirabeau, till daybreak of Wednesday, the 2nd of July, when it was known that all was over. A sigh of affectionate grief, as at an unknown irreparable loss, seemed to burst from the heart of the nation. Since the commencement of this last period of our narrative, many whose names have

frequently recurred in its progress, had been more or less quietly withdrawn by the hand of Death ; on others, that invisible but ever-busy hand was about to lay hold. Mackintosh died in 1832 from the effect of a chicken-bone. In the following year, Earl Dudley, the friend and colleague of Canning, terminated a brilliant career under the dark cloud of insanity. Wilberforce lived to hear the abolition of colonial slavery decreed by the Imperial Parliament ; and was borne to an honoured grave in Westminster Abbey by nobles and statesmen. In 1838, Lord Holland disappeared from the aristocratic council-chamber in which he had for half a century represented, with solitary consistency, the cause of civil and religious liberty ; and from that princely mansion whose hospitalities, elegancies, and intellectual réunions, are commemorated in the brilliant pages of Macaulay. In the same year, Lord Eldon was taken from a world whose progress he had long helped to retard, but which had rolled past, leaving him scarce a partner in his fears and lamentations but his ancient colleague Sidmouth, who lived on till 1844 ;—both respected by many, but regretted by none. Burdett, having gradually revolved within ten years from Radicalism to Toryism, died in 1844, the whilom “pride of Westminster” appropriately representing North Wiltshire ;—in the next year, Alderman Sir Matthew Wood, as staunch a Liberal, though a wiser man, as in the days of the Piccadilly blockade. Earl Grey departed in 1845, with the posthumous glory of one who had finished ten years before a career of singular consistency—of fidelity to the service of the people and to the traditions of his order ;—followed, three years later, by his successor in the Premiership, Lord Melbourne, leaving the narrower reputation of a refined gentleman and a humane ruler. On the 15th of May, 1847, died, at Genoa, Daniel O’Connell, as broken in spirit as in health, bequeathing, with a mournful significance, his heart to Rome and his body to Ireland. On the 22nd of September, 1848, Lord George Bentinck was smitten with a fatal spasm, in a morning walk ; unrewarded for his sacrifices and uncongenial toils but by the gratification of honest prejudices. Sir William Follett was cut off in 1845, and Charles Buller in 1848 ;—theirs the saddest fate of all ! withered in the maturity of manhood and the pride of youthful statesmanship ; snatched from admiring friends and great hopes of public service. In the latter year, Ashburton bowed his grey hairs, wearing the added glory of a peace-maker. Within the six years 1843 and ’49, died the Dukes of Sussex and Cambridge, and the Queen Dowager Adelaide ; each with a separate reputation. In the last year of the half-century, the discrowned King of the French laid down the burden of an exile’s life ; and respectful compassion mingled with the sternest judgments. But none of these was honoured, or missed, or mourned, in comparison with Sir Robert Peel. Only to him were statues voted by Parliament, and eagerly subscribed for

by the public; while to his family were proffered in vain the royal rewards he had rejected for himself. The son of the Lancashire cotton-spinner had grown to be an apparent essential to the State. Sovereign and people had learned to look to him, with a confidence not altogether good, for service in any perplexity and direction in any crisis. The words in which he bade farewell to office were now literally verified—he was remembered with momentary anger by a vanquished party and blinded interests; but in the homes of all bread-winners, with gratitude approaching affection. His early and later errors were forgotten, or recalled without reproach; his openness to conviction and his power to achieve—the sagacity and resolution of the statesman, the kindly generosity of the man—were dwelt upon by friends, and ungrudgingly acknowledged by opponents. He was the man of the era—with some of its characteristic defects, its excess of caution, its over-respect for material interests, its distrust of abstract principles—but he seemed also the man of the future, and would possibly have proved how inadequate are these to the new era which events appear to have marked out.

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## CHAPTER X.

GENERAL REVIEW OF THE PERIOD, 1830 TO 1850—POPULATION, FAUPERISM, CRIME, AND FOOD—THE CENSUS OF 1851—EMIGRATION—PUBLIC INCOME AND EXPENDITURE—EXPORTS AND IMPORTS—RAILWAY SPECULATION—INTERNATIONAL UNITY: THE GREAT EXHIBITION—THE CONDITION OF ENGLAND QUESTION—THE NEW RELATION OF LITERATURE, RELIGION, AND INDUSTRY.

IN the two former divisions of this narrative, we closed the record of legislative proceedings and political movements with a sketch of the condition of the people, the subjects of that legislation and of these excitements. The materials of the former are collected and unimpeachable—of the latter, scattered and uncertain. The People, inorganic in their social capacity, are also and necessarily unreported. It is only since the beginning of the present century that their numerical condition has been periodically tabled—only since 1838 that the natural incidence of life have been submitted to a process that promises to lay an adequate basis for a system of inductive social philosophy. The balances of trade are not fairly poised by the hand of statistical authority: the antiquated and perplexing distinction between official and real values leaves the facts of commerce almost as debateable as the inferences to be deduced. Of the prices of food and labour, no general, impartial averages are struck. The historian of another half century may find it quite otherwise: he may have access to archives of Industry as copious and reliable as those of Legislation. Already

Industry has a philosophy, a polity, a literature, a religion of its own—say rather, the condition and claims of Industry have given a new complexion, have infused a new element, into all philosophy, politics, literature, and religion; as we shall show in our few remaining pages.

The following table exhibits the population of England and Wales, the amount expended in legal provision for the poor, the equivalent of that amount in quarters of wheat, its average price per quarter, and the number of criminal commitments, in each of the years 1831 to 1850 :—

YEARS.	Population of England & Wales.	Amount expended in Relief of the Poor.	Average Price of Wheat per Quarter.	Amount in Quarters of Wheat.	Number of Commitments.
		£	s. d.		
1831	13,897,187	6,798,888	66 4	2,049,916	19,647
1832	14,105,645	7,036,968	58 8	2,398,966	20,289
1833	14,317,229	6,790,799	53 11	2,566,601	20,072
1834	14,531,957	6,317,255	46 2	2,735,717	22,451
1835	14,703,002	5,526,418	41 2	2,502,528	20,731
1836	14,904,456	4,717,630	39 5	2,393,723	20,984
1837	15,105,909	4,044,741	52 6	1,540,853	23,612
1838	15,307,363	4,123,604	55 3	1,492,684	23,094
1839	15,508,816	4,421,712	69 4	1,275,493	24,443
1840	15,710,270	4,576,965	68 6	1,336,344	27,187
1841	15,911,725	4,760,929	65 3	1,459,288	27,760
1842	16,141,808	4,911,498	64 0	1,534,843	31,309
1843	16,371,592	5,208,027	54 4	1,917,065	29,591
1844	16,601,975	4,976,093	51 5	1,935,595	26,542
1845	16,772,678	5,039,703	50 10	2,668,145	24,303
1846	16,996,593	4,954,204	54 8	2,488,870	26,851
1847	17,103,254	5,928,787	69 9	1,996,131	28,833
1848	17,226,452	6,180,765	50 11	1,312,045	30,349
1849	17,403,103	5,791,963	49 2	1,182,223	27,816
1850	17,645,000	...	...	...	26,813

It will be remembered—or, if forgotten, may be seen by reference to page 210—that the increase in the population in the first decade of the century was 15.11 per cent.—on the second, 14.12 per cent.—and on the third, 14.91 per cent. The census of 1841 declared, that the actual increase during the fourth decade had been 14 per cent.; while the calculated natural increase would have been rather less than 10 per cent. The excess of the actual over the calculated increment was attributed to the immigration of Scotch and Irish labourers; for the ascertained increase for Scotland and Ireland was less than that of England. This census also bore striking testimony to the accelerated force of a tendency we have before noticed—namely, the transference of population from the agricultural to the manufacturing districts. The ratio of this process, during thirty years, was shown in the following centennial statement of the distribution of the population :—

		Agricultural.		Commercial.		Miscellaneous.	
1811	....	35	....	41	....	21	100
1821	....	33	....	46	....	21	100
1831	....	28	....	42	....	30	100
1841	....	22	....	46	....	32	100



At the time we write, only the grand totals of the census of 1851 have been published; we are therefore unable to say whether, and to what extent, this tendency has continued to operate. The facts disclosed by those grand totals, however, were serious as regards England—as regards Ireland, appalling. The population of England and Wales was shown to be 17,905,831—the decennial increase only 12 per cent.; that the total population of Great Britain and Ireland was only 568,108 more than in 1841—27,452,262 against 26,833,496; and that the increase was considerably in favour of the female sex—a fact at variance with the received law of population. The population of Ireland was ascertained to be 6,615,794—whereas it was in 1841, 8,175,124; in 1831, 7,767,401; in 1821, 6,801,827. Thus, instead of an increase of about six per cent. as in the preceding twenty years, there had been a decrease of 20 per cent. Absolutely, the population which was believed in 1841 to have exceeded the returns, had been reduced nearly 300,000 below that of 1821. Inferentially, had the natural rate of increase been followed, the population would have been two millions more than at present. A new power had been at work: not alone the permanent sources of Irish decadence, but the new element of emigration. Within twenty years, 2,566,023 persons had sailed from the ports of the United Kingdom, whither, and in what number, year by year, the following table shows:—

YEARS.	North American Colonies.	United States.	Australia and New Zealand	All other places.	Total.
1831	58,067	23,478	1,561	114	83,160
1832	66,339	32,872	3,733	196	103,140
1833	28,808	29,109	4,093	617	62,527
1834	40,060	33,074	2,800	288	76,232
1835	1,573	26,720	1,860	325	44,478
1836	34,226	37,774	3,124	293	75,417
1837	29,804	36,770	5,054	326	72,054
1838	4,577	14,332	14,021	292	31,223
1839	12,658	33,536	15,786	227	62,207
1840	32,293	40,642	15,850	1,958	90,743
1841	38,164	45,017	32,625	2,786	118,592
1842	54,123	63,852	8,534	1,835	128,344
1843	23,518	28,335	3,478	1,811	57,211
1844	22,924	43,600	2,289	1,873	70,686
1845	31,803	58,538	830	2,330	93,501
1846	43,439	82,239	2,347	1,826	129,851
1847	109,680	142,154	4,949	1,487	258,250
1848	81,065	188,233	23,904	4,887	248,089
1849	41,367	219,450	33,191	6,490	299,498
1850	32,961	223,078	16,037	8,773	280,849

Of the 1,692,063 persons constituting the emigration in the interval of the censuses of 1841 and '51, 1,100,000 sailed directly from Irish ports. It is known that of the remaining half-million, a large proportion had made Liverpool only a point of embarkation for the West; and it is probable that,

as the increase of population in Great Britain had exceeded the natural rate, numbers of Irish had settled in our large towns. Still, five hundred thousand souls were unaccounted for. Had they perished miserably, or were they never born? In support of the latter theory, it was said, that as emigrants are usually neither the old nor the very young, but persons of the age to become parents, the natural offspring of Ireland had swelled the registries of other lands. With this abatement, it must still be true that several hundreds of thousands had either been prematurely deprived of life, or prevented by abnormal causes from entering upon it.

The amount of public revenue and expenditure, the sums applied to the reduction of the National Debt, the value of our imports and exports, in each of the years 1831 to 1850, were as follows:—

YEARS.	Total Income of Government.	Total Government Expenditure.	Sums applied to Redemption of the National Debt.	Official value of Imports into the U. Kingdom.	Declared value of Exports from the U. Kingdom.
	£	£	£	£	£
1831	46,424,440	49,797,156	2,673,858	49,713,889	37,864,372
1832	47,322,744	46,379,692	5,696	44,586,741	36,450,594
1833	46,271,326	45,782,026	1,023,784	45,952,551	39,667,347
1834	46,425,263	46,678,079	1,776,378	49,363,811	41,649,191
1835	45,893,369	45,669,309	1,270,050	48,911,542	47,372,270
1836	48,591,180	46,093,196	1,590,727	57,023,837	53,668,571
1837	46,475,194	49,116,839	1,985,885	54,737,301	42,069,245
1838	47,333,460	47,686,183	7,496	61,268,320	50,060,970
1839	47,844,899	49,357,691	..	62,004,090	53,233,580
1840	47,587,565	49,169,552	8,016	67,432,964	51,406,430
1841	48,084,360	50,185,729	..	64,377,962	51,634,623
1842	46,965,631	50,953,735	8,566	65,204,729	47,381,023
1843	52,582,817	51,148,254	8,741	70,093,353	52,278,449
1844	54,003,754	52,211,009	1,563,361	75,441,550	58,584,292
1845	59,140,319	53,385,603	4,143,891	85,281,955	60,111,081
1846	59,700,408	55,583,025	2,846,307	95,958,875	57,786,576
1847	65,372,671	59,230,413	2,956,683	90,921,866	58,971,166
1848	60,856,963	58,990,786	..	93,547,134	53,083,344
1849	59,168,374	55,480,659	2,098,126	105,874,607	63,596,025
1850	58,838,700	54,936,534	2,578,806	100,460,433	71,359,184

We have noticed, in another place, the progress of railway legislation. It will be remembered that the opening of the first English line—the Manchester and Liverpool—was so recent as 1830. The immediate and unexpected success of this enterprise—unexpected, that is, of its kind and to its degree; the conveyance proving much swifter and the traffic vastly greater than had been calculated—stimulated others, and procured for them Parliamentary sanction, despite the blindly selfish opposition of landowners. The London and Birmingham, and the Birmingham and Liverpool, lines were commenced in 1833—the London and South Western in 1834—the Great Western in 1835—the Eastern Counties, and the London and South Eastern, in 1836. The revival of commerce in 1843 developed a strong tendency to railway speculation; in

1845, the tendency became a madness. In the former year, twenty-four railway acts passed—in the next, forty-eight. In the session of '45, the railway department of the Board of Trade had to be remodelled, and the House of Commons was obliged to set aside its standing orders, and to consider railway projects in groups. Within and without the House, the excitement was prodigious. The newspapers were loaded with advertisements of lines to places before unheard of, on the proposal of men equally obscure. A number of journals started, and lived for some time, upon the railway interest. One hundred and twenty bills passed. The 30th of November was fixed as the day for lodging at the Board of Trade, and with the clerks of the peace in parishes affected, plans and specifications. The 30th was a Sunday—unforeseen, of course, when appointed; and the scene of racing and scuffling which prevailed till past midnight in Whitehall, was an appropriate climax to the whole. Of the 1,200 companies started, more than half succeeded in registering their prospectuses, representing a capital of £563,203,000. The bursting of the bubble could not then be long delayed. The preliminary expenses of many *bona fide* schemes exceeded the total means of their promoters—with the hundreds of projects which were a mere swindle, to obtain these expenses was the only object. A committee in the House of Commons in the following session obtained a classification of subscribers. It included men and women of all ranks, from the Dowager Duchess to the shopboy. The panic that succeeded to the mania scarcely retarded, however, the construction of really needed lines. In 1846, 272 bills passed, and within the next four years, 358 more. At the date of the last Report of the Commissioners of Railways (December, 1850), there were 5,312 miles of railway communication in England and Wales, 951 in Scotland, and 538 in Ireland: the lines authorized by Parliament extended to 12,182 miles. The number of persons employed in the conduct or construction of railways was upwards of 150,000; the number of passengers during the past year 60,000,000; and the amount of the capital invested, £220,000,000. And this, the creation of twenty years! How unlike the result of twenty years of warfare!

Other works of peace were in progress. Steam-ships were bringing New York within ten days of London, and rendering the Nile nearly as accessible to tourists as the Rhine; telegraphic wires were being strung along the path of every railway train, and stretched beneath the Straits of Dover, to unite the capitals of Europe. Men of bold and philanthropic thought were turning these new-born appliances of science to their own high purposes, and interweaving the unconscious agencies of commercial enterprise with the moral elements of a new civilization. Congresses were held in successive years at London, Brussels, Paris, and Frankfort, of the politicians, literati, and philanthropists, of all nations, to promote universal and per-

manent peace. The deputations that bore to the Provisional Government of the French Republic the congratulation and good wishes of the English people were reciprocated in the following summer by detachments of the National Guard, several hundred strong, who were entertained with fraternal cordiality in the British metropolis. So auspicious was the aspect of international relations, that the design of inaugurating the new half-century with an Exhibition of the Works of Industry of All Nations, was promulgated by one in the highest rank of English society, and responded to with cordiality by the Governments and peoples of Europe and America. Thirty-five years of peace between England and these powers, often threatened, as we have seen, with rupture, but preserved, notwithstanding, without submission to indignity or injury—the decay of international antipathies with the growth of political liberties—the facilities of intercourse whose creation we have witnessed—the tightening of those cords of amity by the reciprocal relaxation of fiscal bonds—these happy circumstances inspired men of exalted station, intellectual eminence, and cosmopolitan benevolence, with the idea of an exposition and a *fête*, that should at once celebrate and tend to perpetuate the union of all civilized peoples in the arts of industry and peace. How magnificently the project was realized—how the hopes, grand and beneficent, it expressed and stimulated, have been already overcast—it comes not within our province to record.

It was the “condition of England question,” however—the elimination of facts and the agitation of thought concerning the social estate of the masses—which gave its distinctive character to the period of which we are writing. The enactment of the Reform Bill was an authoritative recognition of the doctrine which the Revolution of 1789 definitively established for France—namely, the right of the whole people to participate in political powers; a right the exercise of which it might be necessary temporarily to limit, but whose existence could never more be denied. Pauperism and ignorance were the circumstances which, in this country, were considered to constitute this limitation. When the Poor Law of 1834 had destroyed the claim of the able-bodied to out-door relief, political economists thought nothing remained but to hope and labour for the education of the masses in such knowledge and habits as would preserve them from the degradation of the workhouses on the one hand, and entitle them to enfranchisement on the other. Harriet Martineau, Colonel Thompson, and Ebenezer Elliott, were the teachers and the bard of a more advanced view—that labour was defrauded of its rights, education retarded, pauperism engendered, discontent nourished and justified, by food-taxes and hostile tariffs. Contemporaneously with Chartism and the League, there arose, as we have seen, a school of social reformers who sought to ameliorate the lot of poverty by legislation and charity—who propounded no principle of social reconstruc-

tion, but simply enforced the old-fashioned precepts, that the rich should be kind to the poor, and the strong protect the weak. The philosophy and literature of the age seemed remarkably affected by its social maladies—either touched with the sympathy of healing virtue, or the infection of unhealthy sentiment. The brothers George and Andrew Combe had taught their numerous disciples to despair of the moral regeneration of the morally diseased classes, but through an alteration of their social conditions. Charles Dickens insinuated the same doctrine through the pathos and humour of “*Oliver Twist*.” Thomas Hood checked his waggery to sing the touching lament of the shirt-maker. Douglas Jerrold turned the artillery of his wit and sarcasm upon the contrasts of “*St. James and St. Giles*.” Disraeli revealed to the fashionable world the existence of “*Two Nations*” in the heart of England. Carlyle shouted from the heights of his renown as a philosopher and literateur, that the legislation which to petitions big as cart wheels and escorted with pikes, could answer only with able speeches and special commissions, was an accursed sham. Lord John Russell declared from his place in Parliament that the working classes had not shared to their fair degree in the progress of other classes since the beginning of the century. In the tardy appreciation of Wordsworth’s genius there seemed a symptom of that appreciation of humanity which inspired the poet of the “*Excursion* ;” and the poetry of Alfred Tennyson seemed to derive half its popularity from its participation in this quality. The theories of Robert Owen, experimented upon (it will be remembered) twenty years before at New Lanark, had taken a wide and deep hold upon the working classes; and retained it despite the failure of Socialist organizations, and the horror which the name of Socialism inspired among the religious and respectable, as a synonyme for atheism, licentiousness, and universal spoliation. When Chartism ceased its collision with anti-corn-lawism, it took the form of an agrarian socialism; and no sooner had the value of forty shilling freeholds, as a political weapon, been proved, than the absolute possession of house and land became an object of eager ambition to thousands of artisans and small traders, and the basis of numerous associations. The Temperance movement had rescued thousands from the dissipation of means and health; and educated hundreds of thousands to habits of self-denial and thrift. Ragged Schools had sunk a shaft into those subterranean recesses of society where generations of criminals are hatched, and the materials of riot are collected against the moment of explosion. Factory laws had abridged the severity and protraction of factory labour; and public opinion was being brought to bear upon the same evils in commercial towns. Public Baths and Washhouses in London and Liverpool challenged a commencement of sanitary reform. A Model Lodging-house here and there gave sign of what might be done for the habitations of the people. But these

loop-holes into a better future served also to reveal an appalling and almost hopeless present. While the Irish of St. Giles' and Wapping were abjuring on their knees before Father Matthew, their darling but destructive whisky, the English poor of Westminster and Bethnal Green were discovered to be habitual opium-eaters; while statesmen were adducing the statistics of benefit societies as a proof of the providence of the people, it was disclosed that poisoning was systematically practised over wide districts for the sake of the five or ten pounds ensured at death; and while enthusiastic free-traders were dilating on universal employment, adequate wages, and cheap food, as the certain results of unfettered commerce, others were asking whether the mere extension of the social system which left Paisley to subsist on charity in 1842—compelled starving Irishmen to see the corn they had reaped carried off by the agents of absentee landlords, while their winter stock of potatoes lay a fetid heap—impelled the trading classes to a keenness of competition destructive to morality and comfort—kept the labouring classes ever within sight of compulsory idleness and consequent destitution—suspended the decent sustenance of millions upon the caprice of an English summer and the yield of an American cotton crop—whether the system which permitted these results could be rendered, by any increase of its vital power, either just or safe. It was in the midst of such questionings as these that the French Revolution burst upon view, and revealed the dreaded form of Socialism, no longer in the hierarchical mysticism of Fourier or the metaphysical theses of Robert Owen, but as the political charter of Louis Blanc, "the Right to Labour," the "Organization of Industry." The glare of the continental insurrections made visible a social condition in nearly every country of Europe analogous to that of England, and a political party fanatically bent upon its rectification. The visitation of 1849 deepened the impression upon thoughtful minds of the facts we have recited. The cholera was discoursed of from the pulpit and the press, and in society, in a very different spirit from that in which it was formerly regarded. Preachers and public writers did not exhibit it so much as a call to pious resignation, as a summons to repentance for transgression of physical and moral duties. The reading of the appointed prayer for the removal of pestilence was followed by sermons tracing the progress of the malady from Indian jungles, over Danubian marshes, along the open sewers and poisoned rivers and reeking graveyards of our cities, from the fever nests of destitution up to the luxurious chambers of adjacent affluence; and the lesson was brought home by appeals for contributions to a fund for improving the habitations of the poor. We have one more fact to chronicle:—The leaders of all religious bodies had for some time marked and acknowledged the alienation from their communions of "the people;" and the general decline of those communions, in consequence of their non-recruitment from the external

world. Bishops and eminent clergymen openly admitted that the Establishment was not in fact, though of right, the Church of the Poor; and enforced the paramount necessity of reclamation. Congregational, Baptist, and Wesleyan Unions and Conferences reported year after year retrograde or stationary numbers; and the rapid substitution of an intellectual hostility for mere brutish indifference towards their creeds and worship, amongst the millions, by whose convictions and affections a Church must stand or fall. The light that had broken in led, at first, only to the vigorous use of ordinary missionary efforts. Immense sums were raised for the building of churches—as many as ten were erected in the one parish of Bethnal Green. But it was found in the course of a few years, that while the disproportion of church accommodation to the population was scarcely lessened, the new churches were not always filled—and then, not with the poor. It was now discovered and proclaimed that the ear of the people must be won to the gospel of eternal salvation, by sympathy with their secular interests. The absence of that sympathy, or of its natural manifestation, was deplored by many as a sin as well as a mistake; and reparation was offered from the love of right as well as from an ecclesiastical purpose. One of the forms taken by this spirit was that of Christian Socialism—an infusion of the religious principle of brotherhood into the economical doctrine of co-operative labour. The teachers of this school—at the head of which were two clergymen, Professor Maurice and Mr. C. Kingsley—did not confine themselves to teaching; but procured the advance of large sums of money to intelligent working men for the purpose of experimenting upon this principle. Perhaps this is the highest as well as the latest fact of our record. The mention of religious communities and beliefs has continually recurred in our progress—religious influences have formed one of the streams whose course we have tracked through fifty years of English history. But it has been usually in antagonism with some civil interest or right;—the stream has resembled rather a brawling mountain rill, noisily forcing its way between rocky banks and beneath darkening thickets, only here and there gleaming in the sunlight of the open plain, than a broad, serene river—serene as with the consciousness of might and benignity. We have seen religion, as embodied in a Protestant Establishment, resisting the concession of civil rights to four millions of British subjects, till statesmen and soldiers could see no alternative but concession or the horrors of civil war—resisting the removal of degrading disabilities from the members of communities similar in faith to their oppressors, until the growth of political liberty wrested away the power of vengeance and tyranny—resisting the concession of political enfranchisement to the demands of an unanimous and indignant nation—resisting, in short, whatever was obnoxious to the ruling powers, so long as it was obnoxious; active only in defence of its own outrageous

privileges and noisome corruptions. We have seen in Dissenting sects, it may be, something of a similar spirit—indifference to all but the defence of transmitted immunities, release from positive grievances, and retrogression in numerical strength;—of united, resolute action against institutions incompatible in their very existence with the spirit and traditions of Nonconformity—of generous co-operation with the mass of the people for their enfranchisement and elevation—we have seen little or nothing. Doubtless, while the wordy war of polemics was loudest, the strife of sects keenest, the spirit of Christianity, common to all, was quietly operative in multitudes to lives of godliness and charity; operative for strength, and consolation, and blessing;—as in the days of chivalry and the civil wars, while courtly knights were spearing each other in jousts, and neighbour-barons besieged each other's castles, peace and contentment dwelt with many a hind, and in many a home of the growing cities—unobserved and unrecorded. But we may hope, from the latest facts of our record, that the most influential among Churchmen have become distrustful of alliance with the State, and eager for the confidence of the people—that Dissenters are awaking to the perception of a religious element in the great popular heart which they may educe and enlighten, though they may not turn it into the channels of their own organizations—that devout and thoughtful men are evoking from the new science of social life, some method of ensuring sustenance and culture to all who will accept it, and diminishing the temptation to refusal; so that none shall enter upon life and find every standing-place preoccupied—none leave it with the complaint, that to him Heaven seemed to contain no father, and humanity no brother. What we have beheld accomplished, forbids us to despair of this, the supplement and security of all. The nation that came off victorious in a conflict of twenty years, with a mighty and relentless foe—that has borne up through nearly twice that period under an incalculable burden of debt, and yet has doubled its population, and probably its wealth—that has eclipsed in solid achievement the wonders of fable—such a nation can surely solve the problem, How to feed and teach, without incertitude or exception, every child born within its borders. Call that problem, reader, what you will, the Organization of Industry, or the Mission of the Church, we quit you with the prediction—England will demonstrate its solubility, or have fallen into irremediable decadence, ere the conclusion of this new Half Century.





**A Tabular and Chronological Arrangement of the Principal Officers of State, from 1800 to 1850—continued.**

Year	First Lrd of the Treasury.	Chan. of the Exchequer.	Lord Chancellor.	Lord Lieut. of Ireland.	Sec. of State for Foreign Affairs.	Sec. of State for Home Department.	Sec. of State for War and Colonies.	President of the Council.	Lord Privy Seal.	First Lrd. of the Admiralty.	President of the Board of Control.	Master of the Ordnance.	Treasurer of the Navy.	Attorney General.	Solicitor General.
1810	...	...	...	...	Marquis Wellesley.	...	...	...	...	Mr. Yorke.	...	Lord Mulgrave	...	...	...
1811	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
1812	Lord Liverpool <i>June.</i>	Mr. Vansittart, <i>June.</i>	...	...	Lord Castlereagh, <i>June.</i>	Lord Sidmouth, <i>June.</i>	Earl of Bathurst, <i>June.</i>	Earl of Harrowby, <i>June.</i>	...	Lord Melville, <i>June.</i>	Ld. Brougham, <i>June.</i>	...	...	Sir Thos. Plumer, <i>June.</i>	Sir Wm. Garrow, <i>June.</i>
1813	...	...	...	Earl of Whitworth, <i>Dec.</i>	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	Sir W. Garrow.	Sir R. Dallas, <i>Dec.</i>
1814	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
1815	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	Mr. Serjt. Shephard <i>Jan.</i>
1816	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	Mr. Canning, <i>June.</i>	...	...	...	...
1817	...	...	...	Earl Talbot, <i>Feb.</i>	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	United with Office of President of Bd of Trade. Mr. F. Robinson	Sir S. Shephard <i>Feb.</i>	Sir R. Gifford, <i>Feb.</i>
1818	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	Duke of Wellington.	...	...	...
1819	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	Sir R. Gifford.	Sir John Copley, <i>June.</i>
1820	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
1821	...	...	...	Marquis Wellesley	...	...	...	...	...	...	Mr. C. Bathurst. Mr. C. W. Wynne.	...	...	...	...
1822	...	...	...	...	Mr. Canning.	Mr. Peel,	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
1823	...	Mr. Robinson	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	Sir John Copley.	Sir C. Wetherell
1824	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	Mr. Huskisson.	...	...

A Tabular and Chronological Arrangement of the Principal Officers of State, from 1800 to 1850—(continued).

Year	First Lrd of the Treasury.	Chan. of the Exchequer.	Lord Chancellor.	Lord Lieut. of Ireland.	Sec. of State for Foreign Affairs.	Sec. of State for Home Department.	Sec. of State for War and Colonies.	President of the Council.	Lord Privy Seal.	First Lrd. of the Admiralty.	President of the Board of Control.	Master of the Ordnance.	Treasurer of the Navy.	Attorney General.	Solicitor General.
1825	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
1826	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
1827	Mr. Can- ning, May.	Mr. Can- ning, May.	Lord Lynd- hurst, May.	...	Lord Dudley, May.	Mr. S. Bourne, May.	Lord Goderich, May.	Duke of Portland, Oct.	Duke of Portland, May.	Duke of Clarence, May.	...	Marquis of Anglesea, May.	Mr. Chas. Grant, May.	Sir James Scarlett, May.	Sir N. C. Tindal, May.
1828	Goderich, Oct.	Herries, Oct.	...	Lord Anglesea, Feb.	...	Sir Robert Peel, Feb.	...	Lord Bathurst, Feb.	Ld. Ellenborough, Oct.	...	Lord Melville, Feb.	Lord Bessborough, Feb.	Mr. Fitz- gerald, June.	Sir C. Wetherell, June.	...
1829	...	...	...	Lord Anglesea, Feb.	Lord Aberdeen	...	Sir Geo. Murray.	...	Lord Besslyn.	Lord Melville.	...	...	...	Sir J. Scarlett.	Sir E. Sugden.
1830	Earl Grey, Nov.	Lord Althorpe, Nov.	Lord Brough- am, Nov.	Lord Anglesea, Nov.	Lord Palmer- ston, Nov.	Lrd. Mel- bourne, Nov.	Lord Goderich, Nov.	Ld. Lans- downe, Nov.	Durham, Nov.	Sir James Graham, Nov.	Mr. Chas. Kempt, Nov.	Sir James Thompson, Nov.	Mr. P. Thomp- son, Nov.	Sir Thos. Denman, Nov.	Sir Wm. Horne, Nov.
1831	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
1832	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
1833	...	...	...	Lord Wellesley	...	...	Mr. Ed. Stanley.	...	Lord Ripon.	...	...	...	...	Sir Wm. Horne.	Sir John Campbell
1834	Lrd. Mel- bourne, July.	Sir Robert Peel, Dec.	Lord Lynd- hurst, Dec.	Earl of Hadding- ton, Dec.	Duke of Welling- ton, Dec.	Lrd. Dun- cannon, July.	Mr. S. Rice, July.	Lord Besslyn, Dec.	Lrd. Mulgrave, July.	Lord Auckland, July.	Lord Ellen- borough, Dec.	Sir Geo. Murray, Dec.	Lord Lowther, Dec.	Sir John Campbell, July.	Sir C. C. Pepys, July.
1835	Sir Robert Peel, Dec.	...	...	...	...	Mr. Goulburn	Lord Aberdeen	Ld. Lans- downe, May.	Wharfedale, Dec.	Earl de Grey, Dec.	Sir J. C. Hobhouse, May.	Sir H. Vivian, May.	Sir H. Farnell, May.	Sir John Campbell, May.	Sir R. Rolfe, May.
1836	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
1837	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
1838	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
1839	...	Mr. Baring, Sept.	...	Lord Ebor- acott, Sept.	...	...	Lrd. Nor- manby, Sept.	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
1840	...	...	...	...	...	Lrd. Nor- manby.	Lrd. J. Russell.	...	Lord Cla- rendon.	...	...	...	...	...	Sir Thos. Wilde.

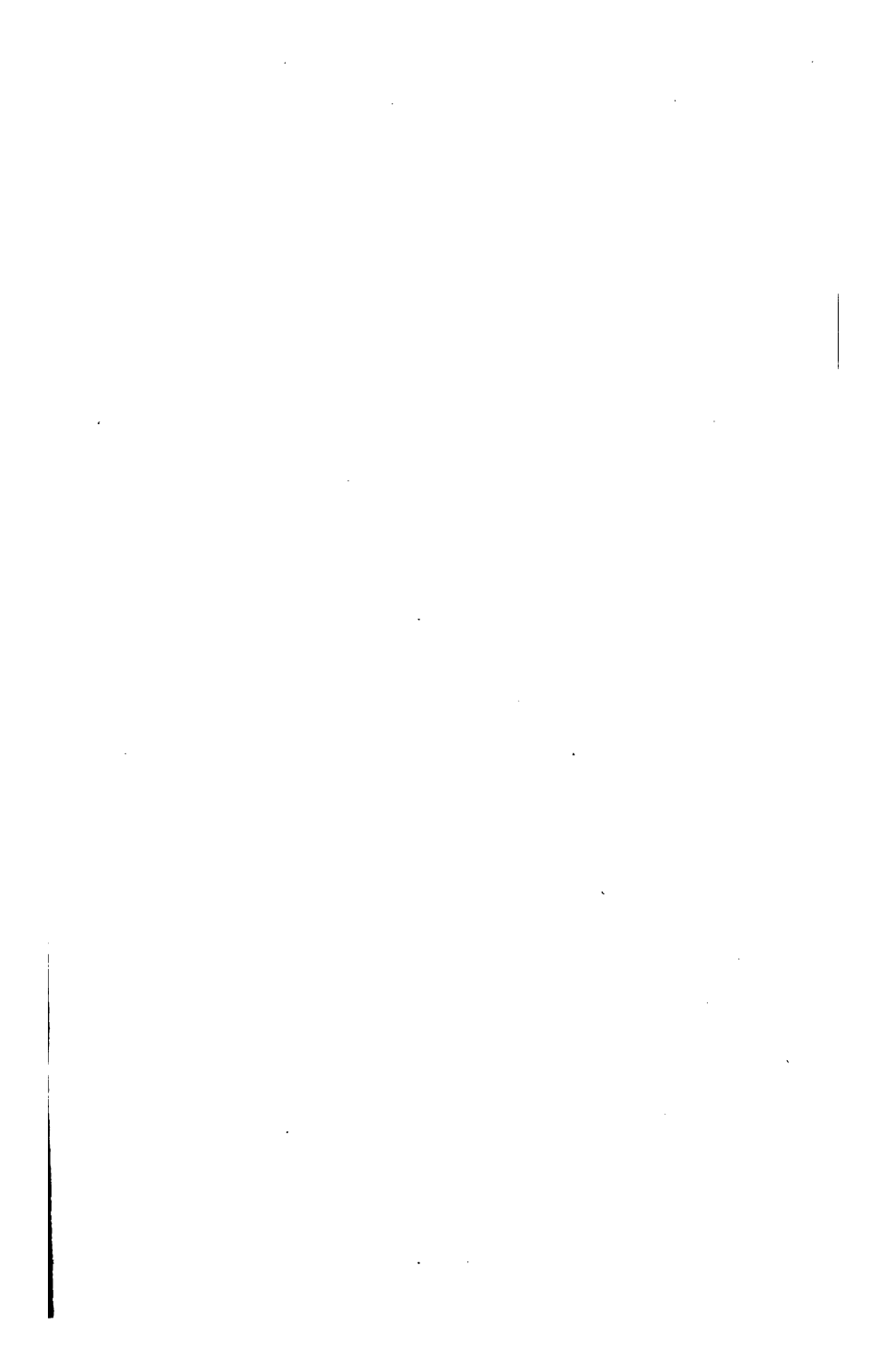
A Tabular and Chronological Arrangement of the Principal Officers of State, from 1800 to 1850—(continued).

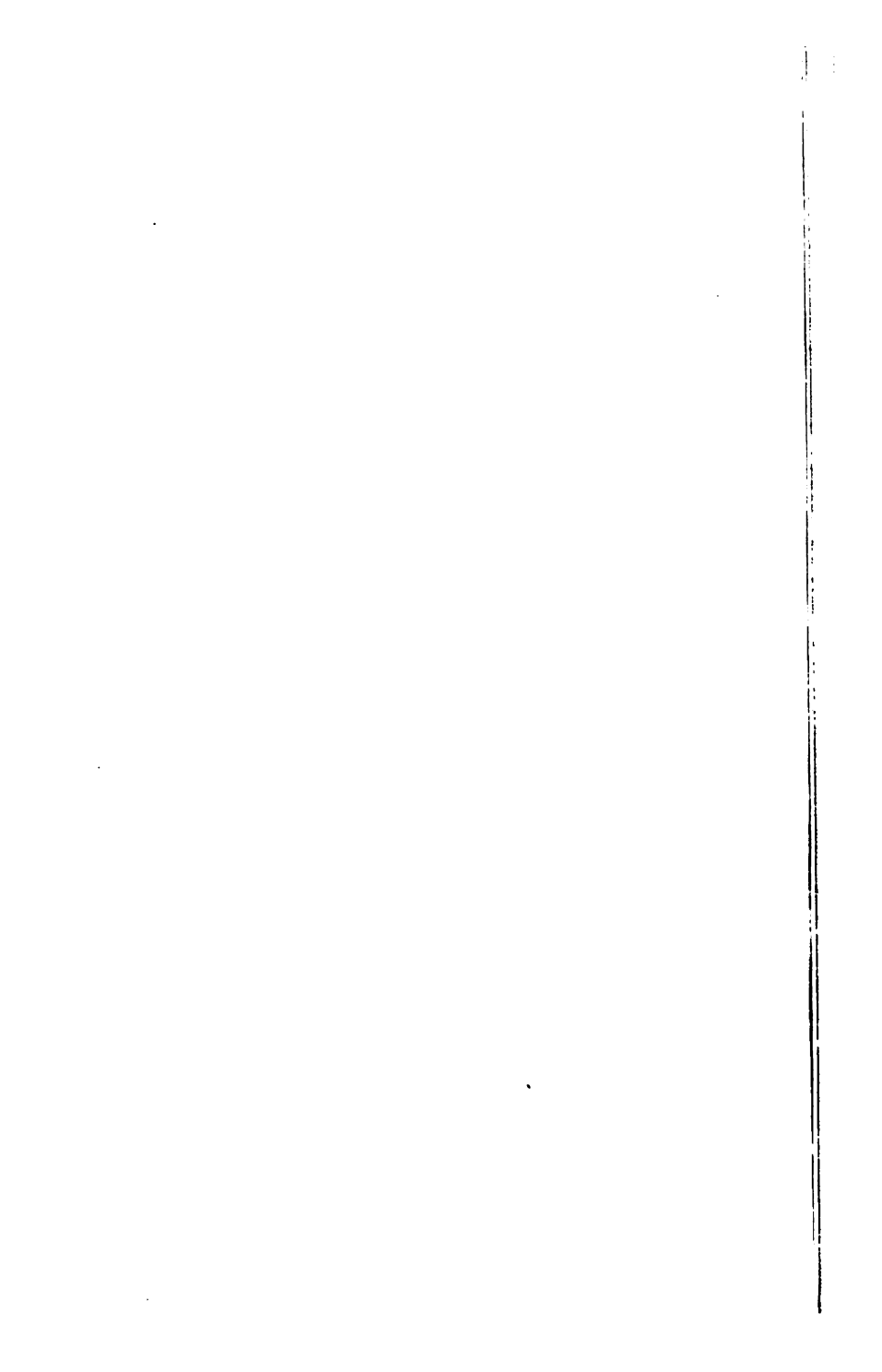
	First Lrd. of the Treasury.	Chan. of the Exchequer.	Lord Chancellor.	Lord Lieut. of Ireland.	Sec. of State for Foreign Affairs.	Sec. of State for Home Department.	Sec. of State for War and Colonies.	President of the Council.	Lord Privy Seal.	First Lrd. of the Admiralty.	President of the Board of Control.	Master of the Ordnance.	Treasurer of the Navy.	Attorney General.	Solicitor General.
1841	Sir Robert Peel, Sept.	Mr. Goulburn Sept.	Lord Lyndhurst, Sept.	Earl of Grey, Sept.	Earl of Aberdeen, Sept.	Sir Jas. Graham, Sept.	Lord Stanley, Sept.	Lord Warburton, Sept.	Duke of Buckingham, Sept.	Earl of Haddington, Sept.	Lord Ellenborough, Sept.	Sir George Murray, Sept.	Sir Edw. Knatchbull, Sept.	Sir F. Pollock, Sept.	Sir W. Follett, Sept.
1842	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
1843	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
1844	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
1845	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
1846	Lord John Russell, July.	Rt. Hon. Sir Chas. Wood, Bart., July.	Lord Cottenham, June.	Earl of Clarendon, June.	Viscount Palmerston, June.	Sir Geo. Grey, June.	Earl of Grey, June.	Marq. of Lansdowne, June.	Earl of Minto, Sept.	Sir Francis Baring, June.	Sir J. C. Hobhouse, June.	Marq. of Anglesey, June.	...	Sir John Jervis, June.	Sir David Dundas, June.
1847	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
1848	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
1849	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
1850	...	...	Lord Truro.	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
1851	Sealy	Burns	Sealy	1853	Palmerston	Palmerston	Palmerston	Palmerston	Palmerston	Palmerston	Palmerston	Palmerston	Palmerston	Palmerston	Palmerston
1853	Sealy	Burns	Sealy	1853	Palmerston	Palmerston	Palmerston	Palmerston	Palmerston	Palmerston	Palmerston	Palmerston	Palmerston	Palmerston	Palmerston

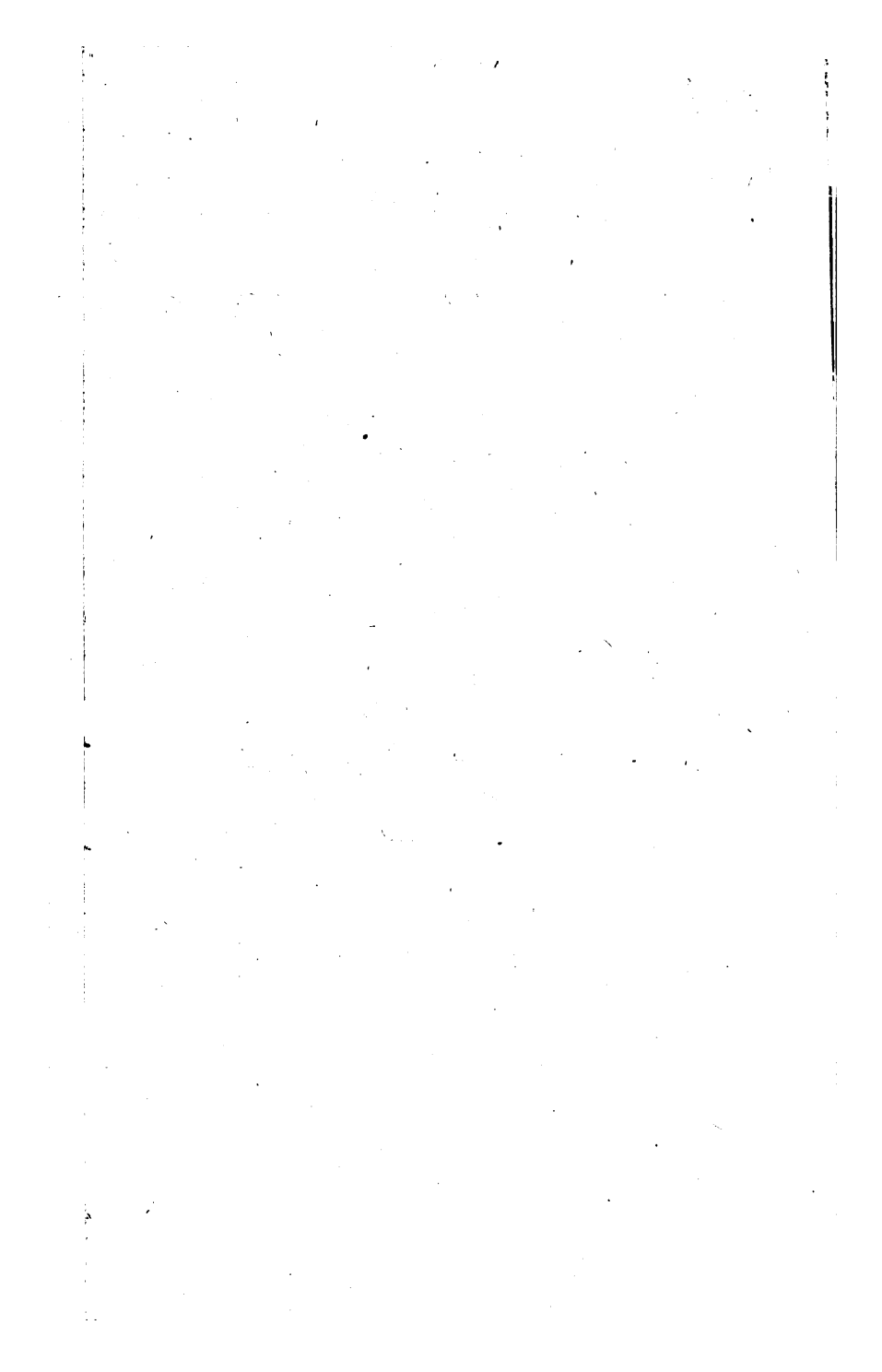
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